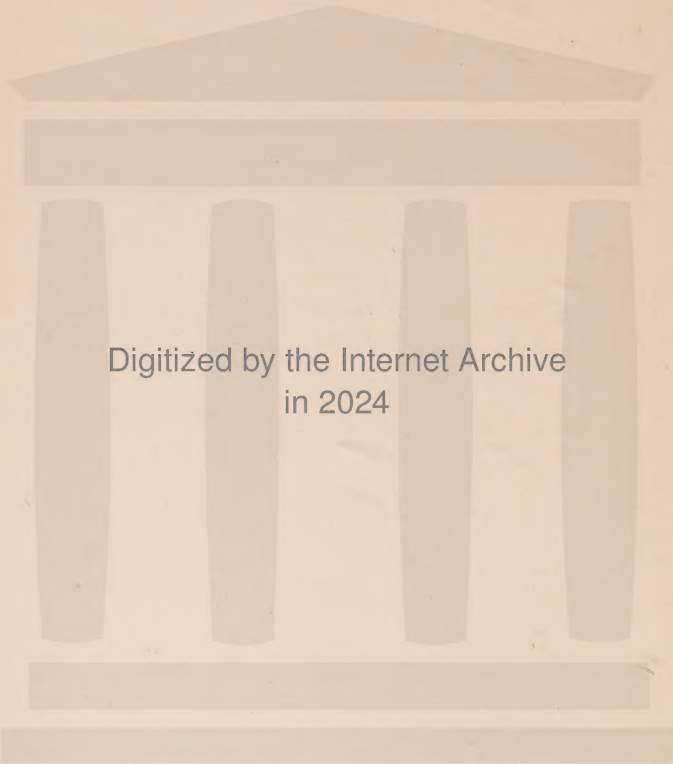


THE
ESCHATOLOGY
OF JESUS

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JESUS



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THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JESUS

OR

THE KINGDOM COME AND COMING

A BRIEF STUDY OF OUR LORD'S
APOCALYPTIC LANGUAGE IN
THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

*Delivered under the "Constitution of the
A. B. Bruce Lectureship" in the United Free
Church College, Glasgow, by Rev. LEWIS A.
MUIRHEAD, B.D., Minister of St. Luke's Church*

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IN MEMORIAM SACRAM
ALEXANDRI BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D.,
SCIENTIÆ NOVI TESTAMENTI
IN
COLLEGIO GLASGUENSI
LIBERÆ ECCLESIAE SCOTICANÆ PROFESSORIS,
AB AN. MDCCCLXXV AD AN. MDCCCXCIX,
DOCTI, DILECTI, DESIDERATI,
IN REBUS PRÆSENTIBUS
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EXCERPT FROM THE "DEED OF CONSTITUTION
OF THE BRUCE LECTURESHIP."

"THE object of the Lectureship shall be to promote the study of the New Testament among those who have passed through the usual theological curriculum in the Glasgow College of the United Free Church of Scotland. The Lectureship shall be given for three years ordinarily to an *alumnus* of the College at Glasgow. The Lecturer shall be required, during his tenure of office, to deliver three or four Lectures in the College to the New Testament Classes on such subject as may have received the approval of the Trustees. The intention is that in these Lectures original contributions should be made, or, at least, the result of original work given, with a view to the promotion of New Testament learning ; all branches of New Testament Science, Philological, Historical, and Doctrinal, to have equal consideration."

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE excerpt from the "Deed of Constitution of the Bruce Lectureship," given above (p. vii), explains sufficiently the genesis of this book; but it does not justify the act of publishing. For the latter, therefore, I am alone responsible. I have acted in the belief that the publication of the Lectures would be acceptable to the Trustees of the Lectureship, and a suitable, though insufficient, acknowledgment of their generous confidence in appointing, as first Lecturer under the Trust, one who possesses no claim to such an honour, beyond what he shares with very many,—that of reverent affection for his first and best theological teacher, and of a genuine interest in the study of the New Testament, especially the Synoptic Gospels.

It seemed right also that the young theological

students, for whom mainly the Lectures were intended, should have the opportunity of reading in full what could actually be delivered only in part. Wishing to speak as a learner to learners, I have thought it best to retain the lecture-form. The book is simply the manuscript, used in the delivery of the Lectures, printed. I have added some footnotes and appendixes, in the hope that some readers, at least, may be roused to pursue the study of an important and, in this country, practically new subject beyond the limits of these four Lectures.

The title, *Eschatology of Jesus*, calls for some explanation. It expresses an ideal, rather than a performance that has been even attempted. Those, if there be any, who expect from the book the statement of a "programme," stamped with the authority of our Lord, of what is to happen after death, will suffer inevitable, but, perhaps, not altogether unprofitable, disappointment, from its perusal. Unless I am altogether wrong, our Lord had less in common with an average Jewish apocalypticist of His time or before it, than we are apt to suppose. There

were certain great general features of Jewish Apocalypse, such as those I have tried to indicate in Lecture II., that appealed to Him ; but I have a strong impression that Jesus was not, even in the degree that may be predicable of His greatest Apostle, Paul, a Person with a "programme" of what was to happen in the other world, or even One, who had definite ideas as to the *how* or *when* of the collapse or transformation of this world. If I had thought it right to follow entirely my own inclination in this matter, the title I should have chosen would have been *Jesus Revelator*, or, in English, *Jesus, The Seer*. The reader will, therefore, kindly understand that in the title, actually chosen, the emphasis lies not on *Eschatology*, but on *Jesus*. My desire in all the Lectures has been to indicate not any series of events announced by Jesus as destined to take place in the Unseen World, but rather what I conceive to have been the *attitude of mind*, towards the entire range of subjects, commonly denoted *eschatological*, of One who knew Himself to be the Man appointed "to finish transgression and bring in an ever-

lasting righteousness." Jesus has revealed the supremacy of righteousness and holy love ; but I am not aware that He has said or done anything, that makes it less absolutely true than it was before He came, that "we know not what we shall be."

Even those, who accept this view of things, as probably true, may be disposed to complain that no attempt has been made to test its validity by a treatment in detail of sayings of Jesus, that seem to deal directly with such subjects as Death, Judgment, Resurrection, and the Intermediate State. My answer is, that I was concerned to present certain aspects of a great subject, which I believe to be of peculiarly urgent interest to the modern student of the Gospels, and that it was hardly possible to do more, than has been attempted, within the limits of four Lectures. If this little book were fortunate enough to encounter a demand much beyond the present issue, I should gratefully recognise in the circumstance a call to attempt a treatment of the subject, that might be, in at least some ways, worthier of the title.

I have tried in the text and footnotes to indicate the books, from which I have derived most help. I should like to add, here, that, in connection with Lecture I. and Lecture III., I am conscious of owing most to Haupt, whose *Eschatologische Aussagen* I venture to think, on the whole, the best book, that has been written on the subject of the Lectures. In regard to Lecture II., my principal obligations are to my old teacher and friend, the venerable Professor A. Hilgenfeld, of Jena, whose *Jüdische Apokalyptik* remains, after forty-six years, the standard work on the subject of Jewish Apocalypse. In regard to Lecture IV., I have learnt most from Fiebig's *Der Menschensohn, Jesu Selbstbezeichnung*, and I desire, so far as it may be necessary, respectfully to commend the work of this, evidently young but exceedingly competent, Aramaic scholar to those of his English-speaking contemporaries, who are better able than I am to judge of its merit from a strictly philological standpoint.

For other matters connected with the book, I owe many thanks to many friends for much

unsought but generously given encouragement. I desire, among my own contemporaries, to mention especially my almost life-long friend, the Rev. James T. Ferguson, of Cupar, Fife, and the friend of us both, Professor T. B. Kilpatrick, of Winnipeg, Canada, both of whom, in connection with these Lectures, have done me the rare service of giving unasked counsel, such as I have found it altogether good to follow. I desire to express my thanks to the Trustees of the Bruce Lectureship, especially to my former colleague in Broughty Ferry, Professor James Denney, to whose unfailing kindness and courtesy towards a temporary usurper of his professorial chair I owe most that was pleasurable in the experiences, in Glasgow, of the first Bruce Lecturer. Among my juniors I desire especially to mention my dear friend, the Rev. F. J. Rae, of Newport, Fife, to whom I owe the suggestion, embodied in the "Contents and Summary," and the Rev. A. Morris Stewart, of Arbroath, who revised the printed proofs of the Lectures with a care, equalled only by that which Mr. Ferguson bestowed upon the manuscript.

These Lectures were written in the highlands of Perthshire, during a summer holiday in August 1903; and I desire, in publishing them, to remember the kindness, if I may not mention the name, of an "elect lady" of those parts, who enabled me to do the necessary desk-work in circumstances of quiet and comfort, which, but for her gracious forethought, would have been impossible.

My sincere thanks are due to the Publisher for the unfailing courtesy and patience, with which he has met the demands of an unusually troublesome author.

BROUGHTY FERRY,

January 1904.

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Partly (b), because Equation "Son of Man" =
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LECTURE I.

THE PRESUPPOSITIONS OF OUR ENQUIRY.

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JESUS

LECTURE I.

THE PRESUPPOSITIONS OF OUR ENQUIRY.

IN these four Lectures we shall be occupied with some aspects of the problem arising out of the presence in the Gospels of what is generally known as an eschatological or apocalyptic element ; and I ask attention in the present Lecture mainly to what I shall call the Presuppositions of our Enquiry. In the two subsequent Lectures I shall ask your attention to the Main Conceptions of Jewish Apocalypse and to the Degree in which Apocalyptic Ideas entered into the Teaching of our Lord, reserving the fourth Lecture for the special subject of the Origin and Meaning of the title " Son of Man " considered in

the light of Recent Philological Enquiry. Remembering the shortness of the time, I shall endeavour to avoid what the dear Professor, of whom this Lectureship is a memorial, was accustomed to call "learned references." I shall avoid, so far as possible, even citations of Scripture, and, while not concealing my own convictions or inferences, I shall aim at being suggestive rather than exhaustive or dogmatic. Apart from the time limitation, it would perhaps be presumptuous, in any case, to aim at more.

The matters, in which I should like specially to interest you, are not in any sense new to persons who are conversant with the German literature of the last score of years on the Messianic Self-Consciousness of Jesus, but they may fairly be called new to those who read only or chiefly books of British growth. The labours of V. H. Stanton,¹ and especially of R. H. Charles in his valuable editions of Jewish Apocalypses, have done much to secure an interest in the question : How far Jewish modes of faith current in His

¹ *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1886.

time may have influenced the language and thought of our Lord regarding the Kingdom of God—in particular regarding its consummation. But there is a matter closely related to this, that has perhaps hardly as yet secured the attention of English-speaking students of the Gospels. I mean the relation of our Lord's eschatological teaching to His ethical.

The minute attention, which scholars like Charles have necessarily given to the Jewish Apocalypses, has perhaps tended in some ways to exaggerate their importance in the minds of those who have allowed themselves to become absorbed in the study of them. On the whole, let it be confessed that even with the key of historical comment—in some cases of limited and dubious applicability—with which the experts supply us, the Apocalypses make rather dreary reading. There is in them the same iteration of the notes of warning and hope that characterise genuine prophecy, but the inspired insight and the direct touch with life, which in the Prophets more than compensate for this monotony, are in such Apocalypses as those,

e.g., contained in the Book of Enoch, represented chiefly by an insipid literalism, while the highly artificial literary form, to which the apocalyptist is bound, tends to lower the interest of even so great and living a book as the canonical Daniel to the level of an arithmetical puzzle.

The solution of the puzzle absorbs an immense amount of time and energy. It is dubious even to the end. One asks: Is it worth the pains? Is it, I wonder, improper to suggest that the very barrenness of large tracts of research in literature of this sort has tempted some investigators to find relief in the supposition that the apocalyptic imagery, which undoubtedly entered to a very considerable extent into the structure of our Lord's speech regarding the heavenly Kingdom, affected the substance of His thought and teaching to a much greater extent than—previously to these apocalyptic investigations—it was possible for a modern reader of the Gospels even for a moment to suppose?

Whether it is so or not, such a phenomenon

as Joh. Weiss's *Jesus' Preaching of the Kingdom of God*¹—a highly readable and in many ways suggestive book—is certainly remarkable. The main thesis of this book is that, whereas we have hitherto started in our study of the teaching of Jesus from what we considered His ethical ideas, making these the standard of interpretation of His eschatological utterances, the right method of procedure is rather the reverse. The eschatological utterances represent not the circumference but the centre of our Lord's mental and spiritual equipment, and we must learn to do justice to the antique realism of His thought. His dominant idea is indeed that of the Kingdom of God. But the Kingdom is a hope of the future rather than a possession of the present. His religious faith brought it near, and considered its arrival imminent ; still to the last it was something to come. It was to come by the power of God—a power which Jesus never ventured to measure by anything that was granted to Himself. Weiss's portrayal of the Gospel facts has the merit of being self-consistent as well as interesting. He does

¹ *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*. 2nd ed., Göttingen, 1900.

not hesitate to argue that the same "objectivity" which attaches to the Kingdom of God must attach also to its central Figure, the Son of Man who comes with the clouds of heaven, and to whom the Kingdom is given. *He* also belongs to the future, and Weiss assures us in language, wholly unexceptionable in point of reverence, that in His deep religious humility Jesus never ventured even in thought (much less in speech before the Sanhedrin) to identify Himself with this heavenly One, of whom He always spoke in the third person.

To a thinker, who can face such a conclusion, it may well seem quite a minor paradox to affirm that what we have been accustomed to call the ethical teaching of Jesus does not, so to speak, rest upon a basis of its own. For example, it is, according to Weiss, a stupid anachronism to find in the familiar *Logion* about losing one's life in order to save it the modern thought that self-sacrifice is the condition of self-realisation. All that Jesus meant to convey was that the Kingdom was near at hand, and that no one need hope to participate in its blessings who did not

sit loose to home and hearth and was not ready on a moment's notice to surrender life itself.

I do not claim that these few sentences give a fair idea of the total impression which Weiss's very living and instructive book makes even upon the reader who feels all through that the writer is overstating his case. Still less would I insinuate that the questions which Weiss raises can be settled by a mere appeal to devout common sense, which may be, after all, no better than devout common ignorance. I wish only (if you will allow me to say it) to create a preliminary interest in a subject—I mean the apocalyptic element in the Gospels—which, perhaps, has hardly, as yet, been made sufficiently accessible to English students of the Gospels; and while my sympathies go with those who feel that Weiss's main theorem cannot be true, however strong may be the apparent reasons for it, I feel bound to consider this feeling a prejudice, until it has received the certificate of an investigation of the sources of our knowledge, which does full justice to the facts on which Weiss bases his conclusions.

It is obvious—to begin—that there is in the

Synoptic Gospels a very considerable number of sayings of Jesus, which, gathered into close array, give the student a very impressive sense of the extent to which His language at least was affected by the current phraseology of Jewish faith. Where there is the language, it is plausible to assume that there will be also the thought. Moreover, even when we concede a superior solidity to the assumption that Jesus must have thought very differently, on the highest matters, from the mass of His fellow-countrymen and their learned but blinded teachers, we find ourselves still face to face with contradictions, for which, apparently, either He or our Evangelists must be held responsible. Did Jesus not merely prophesy the fall of the Jewish State, but, contrary to the spirit and manner of genuine prophecy, predict, like a soothsayer, some of the actual circumstances—the siege of Jerusalem, the flight of the Christians to the mountains, the profanation and devastation of the Temple? Did He say that not even the Son knew the day or the hour of the consummation of the Kingdom, and yet, in the same discourse, declare that all the sure signs

THE PRESUPPOSITIONS OF OUR ENQUIRY 11

of the end would fall within that present generation? Was it matter of course to Him that this world could have no future after the fall of the Jewish State—in particular, of its peculiar religious polity? Or, in reference to all these matters, are we to see a greater or less degree of misunderstanding, or even conscious misrepresentation, on the part of the Evangelists?

I state these difficulties, for the present, broadly and uncritically. I hope to be able to treat them in some detail in the third Lecture. It may be sufficient, for the remainder of this Lecture, to indicate what I have called the Presuppositions of our investigation.

These presuppositions are of three kinds; and we may define them, severally, with reference both to their subject-matter and to the kind or degree of certainty which we claim for them.

I. There are critical presuppositions regarding the literary relations of the Gospels—especially of the Synoptics—to one another. To these I do not attach, at the best, a greater worth than that of high probability.

II. There are presuppositions regarding the

testimony of the Synoptics to the matter specially in hand, namely, the Teaching of Jesus on the Last Things, or the final manifestation of the Kingdom of God. Even should I offer less proof than may seem desirable, or than, in a more extended treatment, might be imperative, I claim for them, nevertheless, the worth of fact.

III. There are presuppositions regarding the character of our Lord—His spiritual elevation and His intellectual consistency. Their truth is, I venture to think, not demonstrable by documentary evidence alone; but I claim for them the value of moral certainties. They have, that is, the kind of certainty on which sane and serious men are prepared to act, and to stake their lives.

I. In regard to the first set of presuppositions, I need say little. Even if it were possible for me to speak with authority, it would be difficult, within the space at my disposal, to say anything about the Synoptic problem likely to help anyone; and I do not think I have anything to advance with insistence, whose validity depends on any particular theory regarding the literary origin

or relations of the Gospels. Still, as we are to interrogate the Gospels with some strictness on a matter of central importance, it is perhaps right that I should indicate in a general way one or two of the critical positions which I regard as in the main trustworthy, or as having, at least in regard to a large class of questions, the value of good working hypotheses.

1. First, then, as regards the Synoptics, I consider that what is known as the *Double Origin Hypothesis* possesses greater probability than any other theory on the critical field, which is designed to cover the same ground. Those who hold this hypothesis believe that the great body of the literary phenomena of the Synoptics is best accounted for by the supposition of two fundamental documents, one of which was accessible to Mark, and both of which were accessible to Matthew and Luke. The one was a document, of which our Mark is the nearest extant equivalent; it may be called Primitive Mark. The other was a document, of which the main, but not exclusive, feature was that it recorded discourses of Jesus with greater system

and fulness than Primitive Mark. Matthew and Luke had before them Primitive Mark—say (for practical purposes) our Mark. Both follow the thread of narrative in Mark with equal fidelity up to a certain point. Matthew holds it all through; and Luke leaves it only to take it again.¹ The differences between Matthew and Luke are due largely to the different uses they make of the Discourse Document. Matthew proceeds on the principle of grouping sayings of kindred import, regardless of the sequence of incidents severally connected with the sayings. Luke's method is, rather, to link sayings with incidents. Luke, certainly (we have his own testimony),² and Matthew, probably, had access to other documents than those we have named; and this consideration, taken along with the supposition of their access to varying and more or less fluid cycles of oral tradition, and with due allowance made for the peculiarities of each writer, in temperament and purpose, supplies

¹ He may be said to leave it at ix. 62, and to take it again at xviii. 15.

² Luke i. 1.

for a very complicated problem probably as comprehensive a source of solution as we are ever likely to possess.

2. As to dates and time order, I see no reason for assigning any of the Synoptics to a date later than 80 A.D. Matthew may be a dozen or more years earlier, and Mark is earlier still. That the order is, thus, *Mark, Matthew, Luke*, I regard as one of the most certain things in a region that abounds in uncertainties. This means that, where the student has to weigh probabilities as regards the minutiae of the Gospel record, he ought to pay peculiar deference to the testimony of Mark. Within limits, doubtless, the later writer may give a truer and fuller delineation of a historical subject. He may see things in better perspective, and have an insight, as to the relations of what he is describing, to the events of the interval between it and his own time, which is impossible to the more contemporary writer; but this has really nothing to do with the fact that, if we have to distinguish between the minutiae of two narratives of the same incident, we must, other things being equal,

proceed upon the assumption that the earlier narrative is the more accurate representation of the actual facts.

Let me, briefly, give an instance of what I mean, that has the advantage of bearing directly on a point of some real importance in our present study.

All the Synoptics give an account of the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus in the form of a dove at His baptism. In Matthew and Luke, the incident is so told as to give the impression that the event was one of which there were, or at least might have been, spectators besides Jesus Himself. No doubt, there are traces in both narratives of the view that the event was specially a vision to Jesus. Matthew says expressly, "The heavens were opened unto Him, and *He* saw the Spirit of God descending ;" and Luke, like Mark, makes the heavenly voice speak to Jesus in the second person. Yet, neither Matthew nor Luke is true to the subjective view. Matthew makes the heavenly voice speak in the third person : "*This* is My beloved Son," that is, it is a voice addressed

not *to* Jesus, but to spectators regarding Jesus —testifying, in fact, to His Messiahship. Luke preserves the second person in the words of the heavenly voice; but in his account of the descent of the Spirit he introduces the words “in bodily shape” (σωματικῶ εἶδει); that is, while Luke is quite sure that the event was a vision of Jesus, he cannot but figure it to himself as also objective and sensible. The σωμ. εἶδ. is, in fact, his way of expressing what of course is true in idea: *It came not for His sake only, but also for ours.*

Going beyond the Synoptics, we find objective representation also in John. Indirectly indeed, but quite plainly, this Evangelist intimates that the descent of the Spirit on Jesus was witnessed by the Baptist, and was, in fact, the sign by which the latter recognised Him as the One who was to come.¹ Thus we have a three-fold witness (Matthew, Luke, John) to an objective, visible and audible, miracle wrought at the baptism of Jesus. Yet, quite apart from any scepticism regarding the possibility or likelihood of sensible miracles, and with full

¹ John i. 32f.

recognition of the inspired skill of the three younger Evangelists in turning the incident of the Baptism to the immediate edification of their readers, I cannot, for my part, hesitate to assign the palm, in point of accuracy, to the simple and self-consistent narrative in Mark, according to which the descent of the Spirit in the form of a dove was a vision granted only to Jesus Himself.

It is probably true that there is in all the Gospels, more or less, what may be called a *preaching* element—a certain *plus* of edifying comment, lifting us *above*, if not away from, the literal original fact; but it is one among many signs that in Mark, more than in any of the other Evangelists, the preacher is sunk in the historian; that he, alone of the Evangelists, tells the story of the preliminary Consecration of Jesus in a way perfectly consistent with the fact that His Messiahship remained a secret, even to the disciples, until the day when the Master Himself drew it from their heart of hearts, at Cæsarea Philippi.

3. I shall add to this critical creed, one other

article. It relates to the Fourth Gospel. It might seem, at a first view, as if this Gospel had a special claim on the attention of those who would investigate the Messianic consciousness of Jesus. It is pre-eminently the Gospel of the mind of Christ. It not only contains eschatological matter, it is pervaded with it—in a form singularly free from local and temporal elements. It moves in an atmosphere in which questions as to the attitude of Jesus to Jewish ideas and hopes seem irrelevant. Even the phrase “Kingdom of God” hardly occurs. There are but the two powers—Jesus and the individual soul that believes or disbelieves. Jesus is the Son of God, who is one with His Father, and in whom is life; and the Son of Man, who is the ladder of descent and ascent of the messengers from heaven to earth, and to whom all judgment is committed. He knows all things, is conscious of His eternal glory, manifests it in miraculous signs upon earth, and returns to it through death. He that believes has eternal life; he that believes not is condemned already, because he has not believed in the only-begotten Son of God. I am

reverently convinced of the profundity and unique practical worth of this Gospel. Along with nearly every English writer, and at least *some* of the most competent recent German writers, I consider it highly probable that it represents, at least in the main, the views of Jesus entertained by the Apostle John in the maturest days of his long life ; and I see no reason whatever against assigning it, even in its present form, to the very early years of the second century. Also, I am fully disposed to follow Haupt¹ in finding in the Fourth Gospel a test of the reliableness of the views of Jesus' mind derived from a scrutiny of the Synoptic Gospels. Yet I do not consider the Gospel of John to be history in quite the same sense as the Synoptics. No doubt it follows, to a certain extent, the thread of the Synoptic tradition ; and in its record of the visits of Jesus to Jerusalem and its unique account of the Passion it contains a series of valuable reminiscences that are altogether independent of that tradition. But these narrative sections form

¹ *Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu in den synoptischen Evangelien*, Reuther u. Reichard, Berlin, 1895.

only a small portion of the Gospel. If I were asked to give a title to the Gospel of John expressive of its *main* contents, I should be disposed to say that it contained *the characteristic thoughts and claims of Jesus, the Son of God, reproduced by inspired reflection, as from His own lips, by a disciple who lay upon His breast, beheld His glory, and received of His fulness.*

It will, I think, be obvious to you that to one whose views of the Fourth Gospel are accurately (though generally) expressed in such a title, it cannot seem proper to give it other than a secondary place in an investigation whose object is to ascertain the Messianic thoughts of Jesus, so far as possible, as He Himself expressed them.

II. I pass to the presuppositions to which I assign the value of ascertained fact. They have to do, principally, with the Synoptic testimony to the eschatological utterance and thought of Jesus.

1. First, then, the eschatological utterances of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels, taken separately, bear on their face the stamp of being as literal reports as possible of His actual words. They are

always vivid and pictorial, and are often fitted with that tenacious clutch of the memory—a proverb or a parable. Who doubts, for example, that, in some eschatological connection, He used the proverb, *Where the carcass, there the eagles*; ¹ or the parable of the *fig tree whose branches soften at the approach of summer*? ²

I would, however, specially mention a considerable class of sayings that possess even a stronger certificate than the appendix of a parable. They are those that are couched in the form of a prediction so direct and definite, and, at the same time, so apparently fallacious, even from the point of view of the Evangelist, that nothing short of the fact that they were actually uttered can account for the report of them in the Gospels. I instance two, not of the most important, but of the most striking of these.

The one is Matthew x. 23 : “Verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of Man be come.” If it is *possible*, it is not *easy* even for us to rid ourselves

¹ Matt. xxiv. 28 ; Luke xvii. 37.

² Matt. xxiv. 32 ; Mark xiii. 28 ; Luke xxi. 29.

of the impression that Jesus meant to intimate that His advent in glory would certainly take place within a space to be measured rather by *months* (if not weeks) than years, from the time of His speaking. And, even if we make the improbable supposition that the disciples who heard the saying did not understand it in this way, it will still be unquestionable that the first generation of Christians would find in it, at the least, an emphatic assurance that the Advent belonged to their time, and that they had individually every chance of witnessing it.

Now, on the supposition that Matthew wrote before 70 A.D., it was obviously possible for him to take the words in this sense. But is it possible to suppose that he did so without a certain measure of misgiving? Why had words so singularly definite—pointing only by a strained interpretation to a period measurable by *years* and not rather by *months*—not been fulfilled long ago? No doubt, facts had now made the strained interpretation inevitable; but what if *it* were to prove as fallacious as the other? Would it not be wise to suppress this *Logion* altogether, or

at least give it a less definite form? I can think of only one thing potent enough to overcome these scruples: it was the conscientious certainty of the Evangelist that Jesus used the words he reports and no other.

The *other* instance is more striking, both in its own nature and in the fact that it is represented in all the Synoptics. It is the saying that some of those, who were with Jesus about the time of the Transfiguration, should not taste death until they saw the Kingdom of God. In Matthew (xvi. 28) it is: "Verily I say unto you, There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in His Kingdom." In Mark (ix. 1) it is the same, except that "Son of Man coming," etc., becomes the more indefinite "the Kingdom of God coming in power"—a fact which whoever is bold enough may use against our theory of the priority of Mark. The objection would be the more plausible that in Luke (ix. 27) the words run: "I tell you truly, There are some of those standing there (*αὐτοῦ*) who shall not taste of death until they see the Kingdom of God." Here surely was not only

a definite prediction, but, as nearly as possible, a personal promise.

If Luke, as is probable, wrote as late as 75 A.D., would he not inevitably have the feeling that here was a promise whose fulfilment had been strangely delayed; and is it not more than possible that both he and some later editor of Mark changed, what was presumably the more original and personal form of expression ("the Son of Man coming in His Kingdom"), into the more indefinite "*Kingdom of God* coming"? The fact that the *Logion* is there at all, and that not even the latest reporter ventures to rid it of its aspect of personal promise, is the strongest guarantee that the saying in its most definite form is an accurate report.

These sayings, and others of similar character that might be cited, not only bear a powerful certificate of their own genuineness, but they offer a scarcely less powerful, if less direct, one to the whole cycle of eschatological sayings in the Synoptics. For it will be found, I think, that precisely the same considerations apply, more or less, to them all.

2. The second presupposition for which I claim the value of fact relates to the arrangement of the eschatological sayings of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels. If the reports of these sayings, taken separately, bear the strongest possible certificate of accuracy, it is by no means possible to make the same claim for the order in which they occur, in any one, or in all, of the three Gospels. We must be prepared, that is, not only for the possibility, but for the fact, that some of the eschatological sayings have been placed by the Evangelists in wrong and even misleading contexts.

I do not mean that the Evangelists have intended to mislead; or to deny that they frequently give us sequences of the sayings of Jesus, whose inevitableness proves their accuracy. All I mean is, that they have to a certain extent failed, through inevitable misunderstanding, to give us the correct contexts of correctly reported sayings. It is not, of course, enough to refer in proof of this to the well-known fact that the same sayings are found in different connections in different Gospels; for there is no reason in the world why Jesus, the itinerant

Preacher, should not frequently have uttered the same sayings on different occasions, or even in different connections of thought. Nor is it enough to point out that all the Evangelists followed to some extent the method Matthew very evidently took—that of trying to arrange the sayings of Jesus, which were to a large extent self-contained proverbs, on some topical principle.

In our first reading of the Synoptic Gospels the eschatological sayings do not bulk largely in our vision; and we may be disposed to argue that, where there was so little to report, there was little room for mistake. If we are to make our point, I fear we must put ourselves to the trouble of looking with some minuteness at one or two Synoptic passages, each of which contains a series of eschatological sayings.

I purposely choose first one that is to a considerable extent peculiar to one Evangelist, viz., Luke. The passage is that beginning at Luke xvii. 20, and running on throughout twenty-five verses down to xviii. 8.

This is a pretty long text, and we see at a glance that it contains important matter of the

kind of which we are in search. It is characteristically introduced by Luke in connection with a specified incident—a question of the Pharisees as to when the Kingdom of God should come. But, when we look at the discourse more closely, we find that, while the general theme of the whole passage may be described as the final manifestation of the Kingdom of God, the passage itself is by no means homogeneous.

One may recognise the homiletic skill with which the Evangelist gives practical unity to the passage, making the reader feel all through the urgency of the lesson “watch and pray,” and find in this circumstance a proof of the Evangelist’s fidelity to the Master’s spirit. But we are engaged in a scientific enquiry as to one particular matter; and what I have to point out is, that while all the utterances here recorded, taken separately, bear the certificate of accuracy, it is not possible to attribute to our Lord the intellectual incoherence of having uttered them in the order of the Evangelist’s text, without explanations designed to show the transitions of thought. And if we find that the separate fragments of discourse presuppose,

in all probability, not only different turns of thought, but different occasions, determined by the varying needs of varying listeners, the suggestion that this heterogeneous matter represents different stages of one discourse, delivered at one time, and arising (as the Evangelist seems to represent) out of one occasion—the question of the Pharisees—must seem, to say the least, highly improbable.

Let us briefly analyse the passage. The Pharisees ask, *When shall the Kingdom of God come?* It is fair to see in the first words of verse 22, *And He said unto His disciples*, a sign that the Evangelist himself recognises—what to us is surely obvious—that the proper answer to this question, an answer wholly characteristic of Jesus, is found in verses 20f. The answer is entirely in the spirit of the answer to the question, *Lord, are there few that be saved?* (Luke xiii. 23). The design in both cases is to rebuke unprofitable speculation and fix attention on present problems. The meaning is: Why trouble about the future of the Kingdom when you have to do with the power of it already present? The matter of

importance is not to know the "times" of the Kingdom, but its preparation and power in your own lives.¹

The next verses (22-25) are obviously very different. The Evangelist feels the difference, and tells us that they were addressed to the disciples. Their point is not to discourage the idea of a future and external manifestation of the Kingdom, but to warn the disciples against the temptation of their own eagerness to see the end. When, in the pressure of trouble, they long for the day that comes not, let them not waste energy in looking here or there for the signs of the end. Let them rather be assured that the end, when it comes, will be like the lightning—simultaneous, all-pervading, and unmistakable.

¹ In his work, *Die Reichsgotteshoffnung in den ältesten Christlichen Dokumenten und bei Jesus*, published since these Lectures were written, I learn from a review in the *Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature* (Nov. 1903) that Professor Wernle, of Basel, gives an interpretation of verses 20 f. very different from the above: *The Kingdom of God is among you so quickly* (like a lightning flash, cp. verse 24), *that there shall be no time for sight or speech beforehand*. If this were correct, the section, verses 20-30, might be considered fairly homogeneous. The matter is worth investigating, but I must be content, at present, to refer the reader to Wernle's book. On verses 20 and 21 of Luke xvii., see Appendix A.

Now, I consider it as certain as anything in the Gospels, that Jesus used this image of the lightning, in the sense just suggested. But it is surely improbable that He spoke the words about the lightning immediately after those to the Pharisees, and with them still forming part of the audience. Can we make Him responsible for the incoherence of saying in one sentence, *The Kingdom of God does not come with outward sign*, and in the next, *The outward sign,¹ when it does come, will be quite unmistakable?* Is it not more probable that the association of the two sayings is due to the Evangelist; and that, as Haupt suggests, what led him to the association may have been the repetition in verse 23 of the phrase of verse 21, *Lo here, lo there?*

A sign that the next passage (verses 26-30) is also out of place, lies in the isolated character of verse 25, *But first it is necessary that He should suffer many things and be rejected of this generation*, which has no particular relevance either to what precedes or to what follows. But,

¹ But see Appendix A, *re* μετὰ παρατηρήσεως.

apart from this, it is not probable that, immediately after telling the disciples not to trouble themselves with an anxious search for something that would assert itself in its own time quite unmistakably, He should have proceeded to say, in effect, *Yet you must be very much on the alert, for the coming will be sudden.* The sayings in themselves (witness the pictures of Noah and Sodom) have the usual stamp of genuineness, but it is, to my mind, altogether likely that their place in the passage before us is due to the Evangelist and not to Jesus; the connecting link in his mind being probably the *lightning*, with its suggestion of suddenness.

The most evident instance of misplacement in this passage is perhaps that offered by the next verses (31-33). Even if the equivalent of verses 31 and 32 did not occur in Matthew's text in connection with the impending disaster of Jerusalem, it is obvious that Jesus could not have spoken as if physical flight had anything to do with escaping the judgments of the day of the Son of Man, and that He cannot be held responsible for the irrelevance of introducing the great paradox about saving life by losing it, in

connection with an exhortation to save physical life and let mere property alone.

But suppose we grant that the sayings contained in verses 31 to 33 had, as Jesus uttered them, to do with a warning to the disciples that a time would come when they would best seek safety by literal flight from the Holy City, no longer holy, it becomes immediately clear that the next verses (34-37) belong to some other connection. They have nothing to do with the kind of disaster that could be evaded by flight. They perhaps belong, as Haupt has suggested, to a connection in which Jesus pointed out, with characteristic vividness, that similarity of condition between two persons in this world was no guarantee of a corresponding similarity in the world to come. If we allow verse 37 to belong to the same connection, it can only be on the understanding that it indicates a misapprehension on the part of the disciples, who suppose Jesus to be speaking of some definitely foreseen catastrophe that is to happen within geographical limits (*Where, Lord?*). By His proverbial answer, Jesus might mean only to say that such catastrophes do not happen

without reason. It is as if He said: Where there is moral corruption, there will be also the stroke of Divine judgment.

Finally, there is the section, xviii. 1-8. The motive of the parable, according to the Evangelist (see verses 7 and 8), was not simply to teach the lesson that men in general should pray perseveringly, but to encourage the fainting children of the Kingdom to continue praying, in spite of the delay of the glorious Advent that would bring them deliverance. Let them be found praying when the Son of Man comes. It is, of course, quite possible that Jesus gave an eschatological turn to this parable about prayer, but the words in which the parable is introduced, taken along with what we know otherwise of the manner of the Evangelist, warn us that we cannot be so certain of this as of the fact that Jesus spoke the parable itself.

The form in which the parable is introduced at xviii. 1 suggests strongly that, in the document from which the Evangelist borrowed, it did not occur in any specially eschatological connection. If it had been introduced as part of a continuous

discourse which had reference throughout to the last days, it is not likely that the writer would have interrupted his report with a formula of introduction fitted to suggest an altogether new topic. The parable would have been woven into the discourse. Its natural place would have been, I think, at verse 24. Jesus might very well have said: Do not be misled by your longing for the deliverance of the day of the Son of Man. Give yourselves rather to prayer. Prayer may seem to be in vain, but it never really is so. Its power lies in its importunity. On the whole, perhaps, it is more probable (the point is not one to be pressed either way) that the eschatological turn of the parable is due to the Evangelist rather than to Jesus.

3. If this were so, it suggests a feature of the Synoptic Evangelists for which I wish now to claim distinct recognition. It is their liability to misunderstand Jesus. There are probably no ancient reports in the world so manifestly objective and veracious as the Synoptic Gospels. Certainly, in these qualities none excel them. But every quality has its defects. The defect of the

supremely accurate reporter is, that while he never consciously misrepresents, he sometimes unconsciously misunderstands. It is, to me, as certain as any fact in history, that the Evangelists sometimes and inevitably misunderstood Jesus. Perhaps they never really misreported a sentence taken by itself. Perhaps they understood all that He judged it possible to convey to their minds. Still, I would stake the entire worth of this investigation upon the assertion that they did not understand fully, and therefore partially misunderstood, the mind of Jesus, in reference to the Kingdom of God. They misunderstood, in particular, His way of thinking and speaking about its consummation.

I might be content here to remind you of the familiar fact that the sense of the impending end of the world pervades the New Testament. In the earlier writers, St. Paul and the Synop-
tists, we feel the full force of the expectation that "this generation" shall not pass till all the signs of the end be fulfilled; and though inevitably in later writers, such as the Fourth Evangelist, the author of Second Peter, and

the writer to the Hebrews, the wave of immediate expectation has to a considerable degree spent its force, it may fairly be said that it does not recede without noise.

The New Testament may be described as a book of the first and second generations of Christians, and it would be roughly true to say that the motto of the first generation was, *The Lord cometh*, and of the second, *Be patient unto the coming of the Lord*. I should be disposed to claim, also, that the second generation is represented in the Synoptics as well as the first. It will be best, however, to leave generalities, and find the evidence we are looking for in one of the eschatological discourses of the Gospels. Let us take the discourse of greatest bulk and prominence—that appended to the question of the disciples about the destruction of the Temple. Let us look first, not at the oldest report (Mark xiii.), but rather at the one in Matthew (chap. xxiv.), which is closely modelled upon Mark's, but is more elaborate and more carefully articulated; and let us remember that our immediate object is not to get at the

meaning of Jesus, but rather to see clearly what the Evangelist (as judged by his report) must have thought that He meant.

Observe, then (*a*), that verse 3 f. implies the practical, if not the absolute, identification as to time of the fall of the Temple, the coming of the Son of Man, and the end of the world. The identification is really matter of course with the Evangelist, and he has no interest in the fall of the Temple except as the immediate prelude of the end of the age and the glorious Advent of the Son of Man. Hence, at verse 4, Jesus goes at once to the main matter of the Advent; and He alludes to the disasters at Jerusalem only as one of the afflictions preliminary to the end. The Evangelist reveals his own interest in the matter, with perfect frankness, in the parenthetical remark (verse 15), *Whoso readeth, let him understand*. I am tempted to consider it a sign of conscientiousness in reporting, that, unlike Luke, neither Matthew nor Mark (his supposed original) represents Jesus as using in this discourse the word *Jerusalem*. The parenthesis might perhaps mean partly, *Though He did not say Jerusalem*,

you and I, my readers, know quite well what He meant.

(b) The first great section of Matthew's report ends at verse 14. The purport is : Before the end there must come a series of troubles of which the first are external, *wars and plagues* (verse 8), and the next are those specially affecting the "elect," namely, the hatred and persecution which will try their fidelity. The love of some will grow cold, but those who endure to the end will be saved. When they have preached the gospel to all nations, the end will come. Observe, again, the Evangelist does not represent Jesus as saying to the disciples : You and the men of your day will accomplish this work. I fully believe that Jesus used precisely such words as are reported in verse 14 ("This gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached," etc.); but I am equally certain that the Evangelist considered Him to have meant (probably never dreamt of His meaning anything else than) that the work of this mission would be begun and finished by the men of that generation.

(c) Next comes the section (verses 15-22) on

the disasters of Jerusalem. It is reasonable to ask, here, a question we have partly answered already : Why does the Evangelist, to the manifest derangement of his material, introduce the Jerusalem section just here? Why, *e.g.*, is verse 5 separated from verse 26, both dealing with the same subject of the false Christs? Following in the wake of Weiffenbach,¹ Wendt, Joh. Weiss, and many others suppose that Matthew and Mark incorporated at this point, wholly or in part, the text of a brief Jewish-Christian apocalypse, written probably at the beginning of the distress of the final Roman invasion under Titus, just as the Book of Daniel was written at the beginning of the distress over the Syrian invasion under Antiochus Epiphanes. There is something attractive in the theory. One might see in it a way of escape from seeming to implicate our Lord in the incoherences of this discourse, and be willing on the other hand to excuse the Evangelists for their departure from the *rôle* of strict reporters, on the ground that Jesus did actually

¹ *Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu nach den Synoptikern, kritisch untersucht und dargestellt.* Breitkopf u. Härtel, Leipzig, 1873.

make considerable use of apocalyptic language, and had the Book of Daniel much in mind throughout the experience of the Passion. It has also to be said that the theory has many learned supporters, and that they agree in the main in the selection of the portions of Mark xiii. (= Matthew xxiv.) which represent the Apocalypse. Yet, on various grounds, the theory is improbable, and we may oppose to it, at least for the present, an emphatic *non liquet*.

One would like to know more definitely, how the holders of this theory conceive the apocalyptic document which the Evangelists are supposed partly to incorporate in their text. Was it an apocalypse of the old canonical order, in which the alleged seer (in this case *Jesus*) was represented as referring with more or less obviousness to events that were passing in the apocalyptic writer's own later time (in this case the horrors of the siege of Jerusalem)? If so, we may object to the theory that an apocalypse of this kind—written within forty years of the alleged seer's death—is altogether without parallel in the history of apocalyptic literature. Or was

the document another of the kind represented by the New Testament Apocalypse, in which the primary Seer, who is also the Revealer, is not the earthly Jesus, but the Risen and Glorified One who was and is and is to come?

We may admit it to be possible, or even likely, that the age of the Neronian persecution witnessed the production within the Church of other Christian apocalypses than the one which has become canonical; but it remains as difficult as ever to conceive how writers like the Synoptic Evangelists, so manifestly veracious in spirit, and so careful to report the sayings of Jesus, so far as might be possible, in the form in which they were remembered, should have thought it consistent with either reverence, veracity, or common sense, to put into the lips of the earthly Jesus the words of a book written in their own time, and containing revelations, real or alleged, made by Jesus in His heavenly being. Moreover, if the Evangelists incorporated an apocalyptic text, what motive had they for breaking it up, as on every version of the theory (with which I am acquainted) they did,

—especially when their breaking it up brought out only such tangled sequences as we have in Matthew xxiv. and Mark xiii.? If they had before them an apocalyptic text as coherent as that which Wendt picks out from Mark xiii. (viz., verses 7-9a, 14-20, 24-27, 30 f.), what conceivable motive had they for destroying its sequences?

It is one thing to admit that the Synoptic Evangelists, in all likelihood, found the mind of God in His Son, expressed in books like the canonical New Testament Apocalypse; it is *another* thing to admit, apart from much stronger evidence than is, in this case, available, that, in what purports to be a report of a discourse held by Jesus with some of His disciples on a memorable evening in Passion week, these same Evangelists supplied the missing links of memory from a document which, however true it might be to the spirit of Jesus and in its own place edifying, possessed, as they well knew, no claim to be considered a report of words actually spoken by Jesus on earth.

If we decline to accept the "Little Apocalypse"

theory,¹ what motive are we to assign for the Evangelist's arrangement of the items in his discourse? We cannot, of course, profess certainty in such a region, but we are probably going in the right

¹ The "Little Apocalypse" as represented according to Wendt, in Mark xiii., runs as follows :—

[Many shall come to you in My name, saying, I am He, and shall deceive many.] "When ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars, be not alarmed. This must be, but not yet is the end. For nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. There shall be earthquakes in divers places, there shall be famines. These things are the beginning of pains. But look to your own selves. And when ye see the 'Abomination of Desolation' standing where it ought not, let him that readeth understand, then let them which are in Judæa flee unto the mountains. Let him that is on the house-top not come down or go in to take anything from his house, and let him who is on the field not turn back to take his coat. And woe to those that are with child, and to those that give suck in those days. And pray that it may not happen in winter. In those days shall be affliction such as has not been, and might not be, since the beginning of the creation which God created until now (*οὐ μὴ γένηται*). And except the Lord shortened these days, no flesh should be saved. But for the elect's sake whom He chose, He shortened the days. But in those days after that affliction the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and stars shall be falling from heaven, and the powers which are in the heavens shall be shaken. And then they shall see the Son of Man coming in clouds with great power and glory, and then shall He send forth the angels, and gather His elect from the four winds, from the end of earth to the end of heaven. Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all these things happen. Heaven and earth shall pass, but My words shall not pass."

direction when we suggest that the Evangelist put the part of the discourse relating to Jerusalem in the centre because, as his parenthetical remark shows, he felt the matter contained in it to be, at the moment of writing, of urgent practical importance. What is to me indubitable is, that he could not have arranged his material in a way that seems to us so confused, unless it had been to him matter of course that there was practically no difference—as to time—between the disaster impending the Jewish State and the day of the Son of Man. We are most certain of what it does not occur to us to doubt, and it is precisely this kind of certainty more than any other that can make us blind to the most amazing inconsistencies. Thus, at verse 21, it is clear that in the Evangelist's mind the "great tribulation" refers to the tragedies that are, likely enough, being enacted in Jerusalem at the very moment of writing. It does not occur to him to ask how this can be squared with the remark about the shortening of the days for the elect's sake. Does he forget that the elect have already sought safety from "the tribulation" by flight? or find

nothing strange in the assumption that the whole world ("all flesh") will necessarily be involved in the disasters of Jerusalem?

At verses 29 and 30 he indicates his point of view with clearness. After the tribulation (*i.e.*, the disasters in Jerusalem) there are to be catastrophic transformations of the firmament of heaven, and then the sign of the Son of Man is to appear. Obviously, the matter of urgent importance to the Evangelist's mind closes at verses 34 f. We are indebted to his fidelity as a historian for the very impressive closing section on the uncertainty of the day of the Son of Man, but surely it is only the Evangelist's prepossession, in the sense explained, that can lead him to overlook the fact, that the expression of this uncertainty which he reports is not consistent with the assurance that all the signs referred to in the discourse, including that of the Son of Man, will take place in the lifetime of that generation. I see no reason to doubt that Jesus uttered all the sayings of this discourse, taken by themselves, almost literally as they are reported. I find it, to say the least, difficult to

regard it as a credible, or even as a reverent, supposition, that He uttered them in the order and sense, which, without any intention to mislead, the Evangelist represents.

III. I come, in closing, to the presuppositions which are of moral certainty. Here it is possible to be brief. We are in a region that has little to do with *documents* or *open questions*; and already, in the last section, we have been partly assuming what we may now more clearly express. Our presuppositions are reducible to two:—I. The first is, that Jesus did not suffer from any limitation of knowledge, or misconception, that hindered Him, in any degree, from doing the will of God, His Father. This does not mean literal omniscience, but it *does* imply the kind of omniscience that seems to be claimed for Him in the Gospels. He knew that He came from God and went to God, and He knew that all things pertaining to the realisation of the Kingdom of God among men were committed to Him.

We need not ask, here, whether or not this implies a consciousness of metaphysical oneness of essence with God. What is certain is, that

He was conscious of a limitation of knowledge, and yet was in no way hampered by His ignorance. He did not know the time of the full realisation of the Kingdom of God, but, in acknowledging this limitation, He stood in a certain sense beyond it. He so accepted the ignorance as to make it, not the limit, but rather the condition, of doing the will of God. It was not a detracting from His Sonship, rather the proof of it, that He too walked by faith, not by sight.

2. I assume with moral certainty, that Jesus is not chargeable with intellectual inconsistency. Such a charge, even if it bore only on matters of physical science or literary criticism, would require an amount of evidence of which it is safe to say that it is not available. We know nothing of His thoughts on such matters, and are perhaps going beyond bounds when we conclude from His use of popular language that questions of science or literary criticism were as little within the horizon of His mind as the duty of settling them was within His vocation as the Messianic Son of God.

It may be as possible to over-emphasise the *indifference* as to exaggerate the *importance* of such things. It is to my mind more natural for those, to whom Jesus is *Lord*, to assume that He did not, even in the days of His flesh, think on *any* subject exactly as His contemporaries, than to assume that, on matters comparatively indifferent to His vocation, His limitations were exactly the same as theirs. Grant, *e.g.*, that He did not question the Davidic authorship of Psalm cx.,¹ it does not follow that His mind was not open on that subject in a way impossible to the average Scribe; nor does the fact that He said with seriousness,² "The Scripture cannot be broken," prove that He had the same idea of inspiration as a contemporary Jewish theologian, or even as the Apostle Paul. I can regard with respect the position of the student who holds that, in regard to matters that lay at the circumference rather than the centre of His vocation, Jesus did not think as a trained modern scholar must think. This is a charge, at worst, not of inconsistent but of limited think-

¹ Matt. xxii. 42 ff., and parallels.

² John x. 35.

ing, and I am not conscious of any obligation to *repel*—but still less of one to assert—such a charge, even in regard to matters that may lie nearer the centre than the circumference. What I affirm or assume with moral certainty is, that He did not think or express Himself inconsistently on any subject. He knew what He knew, and (to speak paradoxically) He knew what He did not know. Hence while I consider it undeniable that, owing to their limitations, the Synoptists fell into the contradiction (or at any rate the *inconsistency*) of making Jesus declare at one moment that He did not know the time of the glorious Advent, and at another that it would infallibly happen within that generation, I consider it equally undeniable—though in the nature of the case not demonstrable by documentary evidence—that this inconsistency is chargeable only to the Evangelists, and not to Jesus.

I shall close with a corollary to this proposition. If His thinking was self-consistent and one, so also was His style of speech. Everyone sees that the Christ of the Synoptic Gospels did not

speak at all in the style of a modern preacher or lecturer. Even if we allow that He must often have developed in some detail the thought that is preserved to us in the proverb or paradox which the Evangelists report, we may still assert with confidence that He spoke in pictures, not in syllogisms. There is extraordinary vividness, but also extraordinary elusiveness. The thought clutches us, in its tender strength, like a human arm. It arrests, attracts, subdues. Its voice is human and homely, but it defies exhaustive criticism and analysis. His words catch us in the angle of a situation. We are perfectly certain that we know their meaning for us, but it is just as certain that there is a reserve of possible meaning that eludes us. He speaks so plainly, yet so profoundly. He says so little, yet so much. What I wish specially to claim is, that this quality of His teaching is to be recognised in *every* part of His teaching. If we find it in His *ethical* teaching, there is no reasonable likelihood that it will be absent from what we call His eschatology. If His style is invariably pictorial, and His words have to be

taken in a non-literal sense in that part of His teaching where there is no room for ambiguity, only a detailed proof can, in any given case, destroy the presumption that it is the same with utterances which touch the unknown future.

No one supposes for a moment that, when Jesus said, *Strive to enter in at the strait gate*, He meant that the entrance into the Kingdom was a literal narrow gateway. Why should it be considered natural or inevitable to infer from His reminiscences of the Book of Daniel, in some of His references to the consummation of the Kingdom, that He expected, at that consummation, the literal exhibition to the world of a Figure coming with the clouds? This is, for our present investigation, a momentous example. I do not enter on the matter, at present, further than to say that it is to me axiomatic that the burden of proof rests rather with those who assert, than with those who deny, the literal sense of the words about the Son of Man coming with the clouds. If Jesus is "elusive" even in the words that impress practical obligations of

righteousness and faith, is there not at least equal room for the entry of this characteristic quality into speech regarding the things which eye hath not seen and which have not entered into the heart of man?

LECTURE II.

THE MAIN FEATURES OF JEWISH APOCALYPSE, CONSIDERED IN THEIR AFFINITY TO THE MIND OF JESUS.

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I SHALL avoid, so far as possible, matters of detail and dubiety in connection with the subject of Jewish Apocalyptic Literature. I wish to bring under your notice only some general and undoubted features of it, which had evidently, or, at least, probably, a certain attraction for Jesus. If we are able to set these features clearly before us, we shall be in better position to estimate the degree in which apocalyptic conceptions held His mind, and to deal with the questions raised by such a book as J. Weiss's *Jesus' Preaching of the Kingdom of God*. The word "apocalypse" (or *revelation*) introduces us at once to the distinguishing idea of apocalyptic

literature; for it marks the peculiar transcendence of the world, into which the apocalyptist introduces his readers.

The Old Testament prophet was indeed always a person whom Jehovah admitted to a certain intimacy,¹ and to whom He revealed His will. Yet the writings of the Prophets—from Amos to Malachi—are not apocalypses. Though the word of truth comes from the mystery and glory of the Divine presence, and there are upon the prophet's spirit—partly communicated to his hearers—the shadow and pressure of the unseen world, it is not of that world that the prophet speaks or writes. What he is concerned to do is to show the will of Jehovah in connection with an actual crisis in the nation's affairs. His function is to speak Jehovah's message to His people Israel. His existence and his message presuppose not simply Jehovah and the peoples of the earth, but Jehovah and His peculiar people, with whom He is in covenant. No doubt, he has usually a message to the nations

¹ See especially the classic utterance in the earliest literary prophet, Amos iii. 7 f.

—small and great—that surround Israel, but his main message is to Israel itself. He has much to say in the way of warning; but he is never a messenger of despair, even in the narrower sense. To the last he believes in a great future for Israel in the world. The glorious condition for Israel and the world is that in which Israel, through obedience to Jehovah, is in a position to give, and the other nations, through submission to Israel as the Chosen of the true God, are in a position to receive, that law of Jehovah, whose observance brings all prosperity. Hence it is in no sense an accident but a necessity of the situation, that, when the Jews lost to the Greek empire of Alexander even the small measure of political independence that remained to them after the Captivity and the Restoration, the voice of prophecy, for long faintly heard, ceased altogether. It is an instructive fact that between the silencing of prophecy in the old sense and the rise of apocalyptic, which was in one aspect an imitation of prophecy or a pseudo prophecy, there arose in the minds of the Jewish theologians, fostered partly by contact with Hellenism but

chiefly by a sense of the nation's desolation, what is usually known as the *transcendent* view of God. He was no longer the God, who knew individual Israelites face to face, and spoke to His people through His intimates, the prophets. He had retired behind the clouds. He, who once tabernacled among His people, now dwelt in heaven only. But if Jehovah had thus withdrawn to His own apartness, there were those in Israel who retired into their own spirits and asked themselves whether He would not still arise for His people. Was it not written that He should shake not the earth only, but also the heaven?¹ Why should not the Almighty One bend the firmament of the stars and come forth upon the clouds, bringing the Kingdom and victory over their oppressors to His repentant people? Out of this reflective sentiment of faith grew the apocalyptic literature, of which the earliest and—excepting the New Testament Apocalypse—by far the most brilliant and impressive specimen is the Book of Daniel.

In the time of our Lord there were undoubtedly

¹ Hag. ii. 21.

other works of the apocalyptic class, many of them (if we may judge from the *Enoch* cycle) much more elaborate both in form and matter. These works, so far as they are accessible to us, supply a useful key to many turns of expression, and even to some comparatively important conceptions in the books of the New Testament. Professor Charles, in his incomparable edition of *Enoch*, gives a list of thirteen instances of literary contact between the Book of Similitudes alone and the Gospels.¹ Such lists do, perhaps, in some degree help us to understand language of our Lord, in reference to the unseen world, that has no exact or certain analogue in the canonical Scriptures; but it is probably vain to attempt to deduce any enlarged knowledge of His mind on such matters from His supposed acquaintance with the extra-canonical literature that existed in His time. There is little likelihood that He read any books outside the canonical Hebrew Scriptures, and less that He deduced anything important from them.

¹ See my Handbook, *Times of Christ* (T. & T. Clark), p. 145 f., footnotes. Charles gives about a hundred instances of literary contact between the whole *Enoch* cycle and the New Testament.

The utmost that can be conceded in this connection is probably, as Haupt¹ has pointed out, a certain natural similarity of phrase in the expressing of ideas of the class "eschatological" that are either main or subsidiary. Instances of *main* ideas of this kind might be: the Final Judgment, the Preliminary Woes, the Wonderful Advent of the Messiah.² Instances of *subsidiary* ideas might be: Reward and Punishment in Hades, the Principalities of Evil Spirits, and, perhaps above all, the entire circle of ideas regarding Angels, who converse with the seer, are the medium of communication between Jehovah and His people, and ultimately their representatives before Him.

It is obvious that some of the secondary ideas of apocalyptic are represented in the language of our Lord, and it is tempting to ask how far these secondary ideas, viewed apart from the situations that called for their use and gave them their power of appeal to receptive hearers, represented to our Lord an

¹ *Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu in den synoptischen Evangelien.* Reuther u. Reichard, Berlin, 1895. See Appendix B.

² The "sign of the Son of Man," Matt. xxiv. 30; cp. Mark xiii. 26.

independent system of reality. Did He really believe in a personal Power of evil that had sway in this world and wrought ill in the bodies and souls of men apart from their own will? Did He conceive heaven as a place above the earth, containing the substance of objects and events only shadowed upon earth—in particular a book of pre-written history with the names of the elect and the angels who kept their first estate? Had He distinct ideas of an intermediate state of bliss and woe for disembodied spirits, and did He conceive the final state as accompanied by a bodily resurrection of all dead, and a summons of all, yet alive in the flesh, to judgment executed by the Messianic Son of Man coming with the clouds? Did He know of a fiery abyss, to which, in the end, Satan and his angels, and all, whose names were not written in the Book of Life, should be consigned?

If the question were simply, *Are these things real?* it might be precarious in these days of psychical research to meet it with the answer, *We do not and we cannot know.* But we need not hesitate to give this answer to those

who ask, *What did our Lord think on these matters?* and we may add, *What the Master has joined together let not the disciple put asunder.* We have no means of knowing what Jesus thought about this or that element of what He always presented, and probably in His own mind always conceived, as a whole—the Kingdom of God. He never—so far as we know—distinguished, as we are fond of doing, between the idea and the picture. He presented each and both, indifferently, because each and both, indifferently, included the one indivisible reality—God's reigning will and work in grace and judgment.

The most careless eye can see that such conceptions as those we have mentioned shine through the language of Jesus in the Gospels, and in general pervade the New Testament; but it sees also, I fancy, that phrases in the Gospels, implying such apocalyptic conceptions, are concerned with a circle of spiritual facts or experiences, which are just as real to us as they could have been to those who heard Jesus speak. Can we conceive disciples, who heard such language, or

evangelists who reported it, pausing to analyse in cold blood its appeal to heart and conscience, and asking : Did He really after all believe in these things—say, a personal Devil, a heaven, a hell ? I confess I see, on the whole, no reason why the same class of questions should not seem to us as profanely irrelevant as they would have done to believers of the first century. If anyone is disposed to dispute this in the interests of science, I should be disposed to ask him to place himself, so far as possible, in the position of One, who knew no other business of life than to testify of the great realities of judgment and mercy and faith. I should ask him to consider how such a person even in this twentieth century, believing in God, in the infinite worth of the human personality, and the tremendous issues of right and wrong in human conduct, can hold speech on such matters as judgment and the hereafter, with the least power of appeal, even to human beings, who may be also philosophers, apart from the aid of just such apocalyptic pictures as Jesus employed.

It may be legitimate to say that, if Jesus had lived in our time, He might perhaps have

said some secondary things with some secondary differences ; and, in our present limitations, there may be some use in saying that the pictures are incommensurate with the reality. But those, who follow Jesus in the conviction that the Kingdom is the supreme reality, and that it is not of this world, will feel that the matter of real importance is, not the inadequacy of the apocalyptic pictures to the reality, but rather their practical use in keeping the reality within touch. The power of the Master seems to have had little in common with that of a modern theologian, whether orthodox or speculative. He knew Himself to be the "Son of God," and yet He spoke as a man to men ; and He so spoke as to convey the things of the supernatural kingdom, to those who were prepared to receive them. If we wish to *feel* the pulse-beats of the words of life in the Gospels, we must be content not to *see* the heart at work. The mystery will not disclose itself even to the finest anatomical knife.

Looking, then, away from secondary matters, and remembering that the Book of Daniel is the

only apocalyptic book, which Jesus actually cited, and that upon an occasion in some respects the most solemn and critical in His life, we shall do best, in this short study, to take our illustrations of the essential features of apocalyptic from this book alone. I wish to mention, first, two features that may seem of a comparatively external and, in one case, artificial nature.

1. The one is that the Apocalypses are, as it has been put, *Tracts for Bad Times*.¹ It cannot be said, of course, that they are born of despair, but it may be said that they are born *in* despair. I do not regard it as open to question that the date of the composition of the Book of Daniel is the time of the Syrian oppression under Antiochus Epiphanes—*i.e.*, 168–165 B.C. And, quite apart from any questions about its language,² I regard it as practically certain that

¹ I borrow the phrase from Mr. C. A. Scott's "Revelation" in the *Century Bible*, a book worthy to be put alongside of Dr. Driver's "Daniel" in the *Cambridge Bible*, as containing, in its Introductory Part, in concise form most things desirable to be known about Jewish Apocalypse.

² The Book of Daniel is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic. Chaps. i. i–ii. 4a and chaps. viii.–xii. are in Hebrew; chaps. ii. 4b–vii. 26 are in Aramaic. For a brief discussion of the

the book, as we have it, is a unity. In speaking of this matter, Baldensperger¹ remarks that as the Book of Daniel originated in the time of the Syrian oppression, so the Psalms of Solomon appeared in the time of the first Roman invasion, the Similitudes of Enoch² in the time of the massacres under Herod the Great, the Assumption of Moses in the time immediately preceding the Fall of Jerusalem, and the Apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch in the time immediately succeeding it. There is not, perhaps, the same certainty as to any of the other details of this estimate that there is in regard to the first; but the passage calls attention to the fact that the motive of the Apocalypses is to bring a message of hope to the godly in a nation at the brink of despair.

In connection with this fact, we have to notice, that a frequent feature of an apocalypticist's message to his time is, that the evil will yet

reasons of the variety of language, see Driver's *Daniel* ("Introduction," p. xxii).

¹ *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit*. 2nd ed., 1892. Strassburg: Heitz u. Mündel.

² That is *Enoch*, chaps. xxxvii.-lxx.

last a little, and become even worse before the deliverance. For example, in the portion of the vision of the seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel, which deals with the Græco-Syrian kingdom of the author's own time, not only is it allowed in general that this Fourth Kingdom is a worse oppressor than its predecessors, but detailed references, fairly recognisable even by us, are made to the Syrian kings, and especially to Epiphanes, and the policy of cruel sacrilege, with which he is wearing out the saints, even while the author writes. The apocalyptist's message is in effect: He will do even worse, but his time is coming (vii. 23-26). It is not too much to say, that the woes preceding the End become henceforth a commonplace of the eschatological programme. They are, so to speak, the birth-throes of the Messianic time, or even of the Messiah Himself. In so far as an apocalyptic writer is genuinely in touch with the suffering of his time and has a message to the sufferers, this is usually part of it.

2. The artificial feature—common, if I am not mistaken, to all known Apocalypses, except,

probably, the New Testament one—is that the writer does not venture to appeal to his countrymen in his own name. He assumes the name of some bygone saint or prophet. I am not aware that we have any direct means of knowing how contemporaries, who might be in the secret, judged of this procedure. The strong presumption from silence is that an objection to it, as an offence against veracity, would hardly have been understood. In one of his posthumously published papers,¹ the late distinguished Professor A. B. Davidson wonders, when students of Scripture will cease to ask, by whom, or when, a book was written, and will attend simply to what is written. In the first two centuries, at least, of the apocalyptic period, this simplicity seems to have been as nearly as possible realised. In our Lord's references to the Book of Daniel, there is nothing to show that He did not regard what He read there as having been uttered and written by "the prophet Daniel," who, we may remark by the way, is certified to have been a historical character by nothing more

¹ *Biblical and Literary Essays* (p. 218 f.). Hodder & Stoughton, 1902.

strongly than the fact that a writer, of about four and a half centuries later, thinks to gain acceptance for his message by writing in the name of Daniel. The same kind of phenomenon meets us in the Epistle of Jude, where the words quoted from the Apocalypse of Enoch are referred to as uttered by Enoch, the seventh from Adam (Jude 14). At the same time it ought to be remarked, that the fact that only one specimen of this pseudepigraphic literature was admitted into the canon of Scripture, warns us against being too sure that this *seeming* was, in every instance, *actual* credulity.

A matter more relevant to our discussion than the morality of pseudepigraphy in the Apocalypses is its motive or reason. The main reason was, I venture to think, unquestionably the fact that the Divine voice of prophecy was believed to have ceased. The weight of the Canon blocked the way of the apocalypticist, who might think of addressing his countrymen in his own name. Hence, even of Daniel, to whom, on account of his extraordinary fidelity to Jehovah even in the strongholds of idolatry, such marvellous visions and deliverances are ascribed, it is expressly

related that he understood by "Books," and especially by the prophecy of Jeremiah about the seventy years, the time "for the accomplishing of the desolations of Jerusalem" (Dan. ix. 2; cp. Jer. xxv. 11 f.). And the author is in earnest about the seventy years, for he makes it the basis of all the reckoning of the other chapters, which has been the beginning of trouble to commentators, and of the lay reader's distaste even for the Apocalypses of the Bible.

Again, perhaps, involuntarily the question rises in our minds: How could the writer consider it veracious practically to represent Jeremiah as meaning not seventy but seven times seventy years? Probably the man, who could write the Book of Daniel, was just as conscious that he was going beyond the thoughts of Jeremiah as the author of Fourth¹ Ezra was conscious that, in interpreting the Fourth Kingdom to mean not the Græco-Syrian but the Roman empire, he was

¹ See Fourth Ezra xii. 11 f. "*Fourth Ezra*" appears as "II Esdras" in the English *Apocrypha*. For the numbering of the various books that bear the name of *Ezra*, see E. Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen des A. T.* (Mohr, 1899), vol. ii., in the Introduction to Fourth Ezra.

going beyond the thoughts of Daniel ; but we may learn from the same analogy to be practically certain that he considered the real meaning of the seventy years to have been concealed from Jeremiah and revealed to himself.

The late revered Professor James Candlish told us, with characteristic courage of conviction, in his Lectures on the Kingdom of God¹ that the modern discovery of the fictitious element in the Book of Daniel deprived it, in his view, of its right to be reckoned part of the literature of Divine revelation. With great respect, I must dissent both from the general principle and the particular application. The author of the Book of Daniel was, it seems to me, a man, on whom the hand of the Lord, in prophecy, lay so heavily and so urgently as to free from his path everything that hindered either the uttering of his message or the carrying it home to the despairing hearts of his fellow-countrymen. Scruples that seem to us so inevitable did not, I should almost venture to say, exist for him.

¹ *The Kingdom of God, biblically and historically considered.*
T. & T. Clark, 1884.

All that could have caused them belonged to the Divinely given situation and task. In any case, behind what we should call his literary method there is the great idea—not of course peculiar to apocalypse but attaining in it a certain distinctive prominence—of the Divine foreordination.

The message of the author of Daniel to the people of the covenant is that the whole course of their sufferings since the Babylonish Captivity to the author's own time—the rise of one kingdom after another of unrighteous oppressors of all the earth, and especially of the people of God—has been foreordained in punishment of Israel's sins; but that the time of the finishing of the transgressions and the bringing in of the everlasting righteousness is at hand. To us, of course, the fantastic element in the expression of this weighty message is the working out of the puzzle of the canonical seventy years; but for well-nigh fifty years—since the publication in 1857 of the veteran Professor Hilgenfeld of Jena's *Jüdische Apokalyptik*—the puzzle has been practically made out. And it is time, now,

that we learned something from the patient devoutness of our forefathers, who, in spite of all their straying and bewilderment in paths of exegesis over the text of the Book of Daniel (more fantastic even than those in which pseudo-Daniel himself wandered with the text of Jeremiah), never lost sight of the great idea that distinguishes the book. This idea, however afterwards elaborated and emphasised, was never perhaps made so living as in Daniel—the idea of the regnant purpose of God in all tracts of history, whether the history of the Gentiles or of the people, to whom He gave the law and the promises.

This is one of the things in the Book of Daniel that have attracted reflective and spiritual minds in many ages, and I desire here reverently to claim it as one of the things, that lent to the book a certain affinity to the mind of our Lord.

We cannot calculate the Divine periods, but it *is* something to be certain that there *are* periods, and that they *are* calculated by One who measures and is measured by the Spirit of righteousness and love.

I have purposely lingered over these two apparently external features of apocalypse, because they really touch the heart of our subject more nearly than it at first seems, and because the latter is probably the feature, that occasions most difficulty to the modern mind. What has been said will, I think, be felt to introduce us in more than a formal way to features of apocalypse that are both really and obviously vital.

I wish now to claim for apocalyptic literature, that it marks the beginning in Jewish history, and so in the religious history of the world, of new ideas, or, at any rate, a new development of idea regarding *God* and the *world* and *life*.¹

3. I have already referred to what is generally known as the *transcendent* conception of God. The apocalyptic writers did not introduce this idea. It may rather be said to be the idea of God natural to a time when the voice of prophecy in the old sense was silent. But it may be claimed for the apocalyptic writers that they gave to this idea a *positive* instead of a merely *negative* value.

¹ For this classification (God, world, life) I acknowledge gratefully indebtedness to Mr. C. A. Scott's "Revelation," elsewhere referred to.

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In other words, they turned the idea of the Divine transcendence to practical account. He whose proper habitation was the heaven of heavens, and whose immediate subjects were invisible hosts, was all the more the one true God, whose name should alone be worshipped in the earth. In particular, He was still the God who had given His law to Israel; and in the fact that He commanded the armies of heaven lay a sure ground of hope that He would still do wonders for His people, or, at any rate, for the remnant of them that kept His law.

In his excellent *Jüdische Apokalyptik*, already referred to, Professor Hilgenfeld has pointed out that, looking to the natural division of the Book of Daniel into two parts—chaps. i.–vi. and chaps. vii.–xii.—we may say that it emphasises the two ideas: (1) that even in the period of Israel's lowest fortunes, when her men of repute were but pensioners in the royal courts of the Chaldæans and the Medes, God wrought wonders of deliverance for men, like Daniel and his companions, who purposed in their heart to keep His law. Daniel was both

the prophet and the witness of the humbling and conversion of monarchs of a world-wide empire. And (2) that the time of the deliverance of all the faithful was appointed. It was at hand for those who could read the vision. The time and the glorious manner of it had been revealed to Daniel, who would stand in his lot of blessedness with all the faithful in the last days.

It is surely a fact of singular impressiveness that a book of such living and lofty faith as the Book of Daniel—so attractive even to children in its narrative part, and so full in its vision part of the seed-thoughts of faith regarding the Divine government of all history—should have been produced at a time, when, in presence of the “abomination of desolation standing in the holy place,”¹ it must have seemed to the godly in Israel that the last witness of Jehovah’s favour towards His people was being trampled under foot. We

¹ Antiochus removed the altar of burnt-offering and set up an altar to *Zeus Olumpios*. See Dan. viii. 11 f. and xi. 37 f. The expression *הַשְׁקִיף הַשֵּׁמֶם* (Dan. xi. 31), lit. “the abomination that makes desolate,” is with great probability supposed to be, in its latter half, a parody of *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* (Lord of the heavens), which Antiochus would apply to Zeus. See Driver’s *Daniel*, p. 150 f. Driver translates *הַשְׁקִיף* “appalling,” “horror-causing.”

may find in this the warrant for giving the book a unique place in religious history. Read in all the light that modern critical science can throw upon it, it still seems to give a unique emphasis to the truth that the more the Divine Being is conceived to transcend the conceptions of men and the limitations of the known world, the more surely may He be trusted to give the supreme and lasting power to those, who, in the greatest stress of adversity, are content simply to wait upon Him and keep His law.

We have no means of answering the question, What did the Master think of what we should call the fictitious and legendary elements of this book?—and I shrink, in this reference, from suggesting even probabilities. On the other hand, I venture to think it more than a probability that He appreciated to the full the unique religious quality of the book; and, while He did not read it apart from older Scriptures, whose touch with life was in the nature of the case more direct if not more real, I hope in the fourth Lecture (on the title “Son of Man”) to give reason for saying, that the vision of the final glory, that held His

imagination all through His ministry, was that which finds expression in this book.

If this be so, I think we must add, that Jesus found something in the Book of Daniel, that responded with peculiar emphasis to His own knowledge of God and the Kingdom, that both was, and was to be, entrusted to Himself. What this was is, perhaps, better defined as the *transcendence of the Kingdom* than as the transcendence of God.

To Jesus indeed, in His filial knowledge of God, His consciousness of a unique call and a corresponding endowment, and the perfect repose of His Spirit upon the holy and loving will of His Father in heaven, the Kingdom that was His Father's gift was a present reality ; but we must not overlook the fact that all through His preaching—not simply in eschatological discourses delivered towards the close of His life—He presented the Kingdom in a futuristic aspect.

Joh. Weiss has, I think, in some degree misplaced the importance of this fact ; yet there are, perhaps, few passages in modern literature on the Gospels, that can so well bear re-reading and

pondering as the part of Weiss's book, in which he depicts the sense of the imminence of the Kingdom of God, which Jesus carried with Him all through His ministry. There is much, also, that is convincing in his protest against the confidence, with which many commentators, on the evidence rather of their own modern thoughts than of the Gospels, have insisted that a main idea of Jesus was, that the Kingdom of God is a thing of slow and imperceptible growth—in short, a development. No doubt, this idea is strongly suggested to us by the parabolic teaching, especially by such parables as the *Mustard Seed* and the *Leaven*, but that is partly explicable by the fact that, with or without a reference to these parables, we think of every kind of progress as proceeding in this way. I fully admit that parables like the Mustard Seed and the Leaven, and the Seed growing secretly in the ground, prove that Jesus contemplated and wished to prepare the disciples for long intervals of apparent Divine inaction in the preparation of the Kingdom, and I should agree that there is room enough in this blank for all that is of worth in our ideas of evolution.

At the same time, I think it must be allowed that the evidence of the Gospels is against the supposition, that Jesus' conception of the Kingdom had much or any kinship with the modern idea, that human society is a vast organism, whose progress is necessarily slow and complicated. I think we must say that Jesus habitually thought, not of the analogy of the Kingdom to anything in this world, or even of its relations to men's higher activities (as if it were in some sense a product of them), but rather of its unique and Divine transcendence. It was a thing of mysteries that could not be known by those, who had no savour of the things of God, and, while it was the good pleasure of the Father to give it to His believing children, the treasures of it belonged solely to God, and the times of it were known only to Him.

I believe we must make more than Weiss is disposed to do of the passages, in which Jesus speaks of the Kingdom as something already present. The fact, that the Kingdom is not of this world, did not conflict with the fact, that it was already in substance given to those

who had faith to receive it. But neither, on the other hand, did the fact, that it was already in substance given and present to the faithful in His own person and work, interfere with the certainty that there would be a future and glorious manifestation of it, that would strike the eye of the world.

This futuristic aspect of the Kingdom was certainly present to the mind of Jesus. It necessarily receives a certain prominence both in His general preaching and in His exhortations (especially towards the close) to the little flock of disciples ; but I cannot agree that it dominated His entire view of the life of faith in the way Weiss represents. The formula, *The Kingdom of God has come near* (implying that it is still future), was the natural formula for evangelistic preaching. It had the advantage of embracing the two elements of grace and judgment that must enter into all preaching directed to a general audience. It conveyed good news to believing hearts prepared to receive it, and to those, who neither possessed the Kingdom nor thought of it, it conveyed warning. For to say, *The Kingdom*

has come near, meant : Repent, or else prepare for instant judgment.

But Jesus was not simply an evangelist. He was the pastor of faithful souls. His thoughts were more than could be well expressed in a formula, whose natural effect was to turn attention from the affairs of the present. He taught the duties of citizenship to those to whom, as to Himself, the Kingdom was already present in the inner experience of faith. He offered a yoke of precepts to those who came to Him, and with it the rest of faith in a Father in heaven, whose love covered the wants of to-day and excluded anxiety about to-morrow. If we chose to put it in modern technical language, we might say that the transcendent God was to Him also the immanent God. But transcendent He was all the same, and, just because He was transcendent, therefore He was all-sufficient—as for the future, so also for the present.

4. I venture to claim for the apocalyptic literature—at least as represented by the Book of Daniel—that it contained the suggestion of a new view of the world.

Of purpose I say simply the *suggestion*, because I believe that any evidence that could be adduced as to the views of the average believing Jew, who nourished his faith upon apocalyptic writings, would go to show, that he could not, and did not, define his expectation otherwise than as a Jewish empire of the world with its centre at Jerusalem. This state of the case is not surprising. We may even say that it was inevitable. For, in point of fact, the testimony of the apocalypticist ceases with the announcement of the altogether wonderful advent of the Kingdom. He is certain that power will be taken from those, who are ignorant of the law of God or who despise it, and given to those who know it and keep it. He is certain of this, in spite of the most adverse circumstances, national and individual. For the advent of the Kingdom is a pure wonder. It is wrought by Him whose habitation is heaven and who rules the angelic hosts, and it has nothing to do with the arm of flesh. The apocalypticist sees the *advent* of the Kingdom, but, if we may put it so, he does not see the Kingdom itself, and, if he is

wise like Daniel, he does not utter more than he sees. Hence, perhaps, in the main the curious fact, that a personal Head of the Kingdom other than Jehovah Himself—in other words, the Messiah—is by no means necessarily a part of the vision of the Advent common to all apocalypses; and even when He does appear He is sometimes no more than a formal Figure, receiving, like the symbolic “one like unto a son of man” in Daniel vii. 13, the Kingdom from the Ancient of Days, but not even performing the work of judgment upon the nations.

Reserving further reference to this point to the fourth Lecture, I wish, at present, only to point out that, in spite of this almost total indefiniteness in the apocalyptic vision of the Kingdom, two things regarding it are perfectly plain from the general mode and circumstances of the apocalyptic presentation.

A. The *one* is that the sphere of the Kingdom's realisation is this earth. The Kingdom, no doubt, comes from heaven, but it is given to men on earth. I am wholly inclined to

agree with Titius,¹ whose four books regarding the Final Salvation contain the most courageously elaborate systematisation of eschatological ideas as they appear in the New Testament, that is likely to be attempted in our generation—that it is a fundamental mistake to suppose that an apocalypticist has necessarily any quarrel with the earth or the world as such. The earth may be renewed and transformed, and the powers even of the upper sphere may be shaken in the process (see Mark xiii. 24 f., and parallels); but, after all, the earth remains the place to which the Kingdom comes.

B. The *other* thing is that the Kingdom is one. In other words, it is a world-empire. No other view of it is possible. The whole

¹ *Die neutestamentliche Lehre von der Seligkeit und ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart*, Erster Theil: *Jesu Lehre vom Reiche Gottes*. Mohr, 1895. The other three parts deal respectively with the Pauline, Johannine, and Catholic (Ecclesiastical) conceptions of the final salvation. Titius is confident that Jesus expected the end of the world in His own time, but he holds that the expectation did not so possess His mind as not to pass readily, through His surrender to His Father's will, into the larger reality. Such, at least, is the general impression of his views on the subject of Lecture III. (Part III.) I have received from a too cursory reading of what seems, in many ways, an important book.

apocalyptic literature belongs to a period when, practically speaking, small kingdoms are no more. It is a day of empires, and the world is one. Now, I venture to think that this aspect of things reveals one of the points, at which the apocalyptic mode of presentation, as seen particularly in Daniel, must have possessed a certain attraction for our Lord. The Gospels inform us clearly enough that the imperial idea had for Him the attraction of a temptation, but it is not difficult to see that, while He rejected the showy forms of empire that had come and gone in this world, He believed in an empire of men, founded not upon the self-assertion of superior races or individuals, but upon their self-sacrifice, and maintained, not by force of arms, but by the eternal strength of righteousness and the overflowing omnipotence of humility and love. The world was far enough away from such a Kingdom. But such a Kingdom would come to the world in the good time of God. The power was already there in Himself and in all who believed with Him in a Father in heaven, to whom all things were possible.

5. Too little space is left me to do more than touch, in closing this Lecture, on the point that lies nearest to the hearts of us all—*the new view of life*.

We can hardly enter here, to much purpose, on so great a subject as that of the various adumbrations to the doctrine of individual immortality contained in the Old Testament. The details and qualifications of what I am about to assert, you, who enjoy the instruction on the Old Testament that is to be had in this College, know, or will soon know, incomparably better than I could tell you. I wish only at present to call attention to the general fact that, outside of the Book of Daniel, the Old Testament hardly teaches, and seldom even surely suggests, a doctrine of immortality, which implies a conquest of death by individual personalities. Rarest of all is the suggestion of a resurrection of the body.

This state of the case is explicable, in the main, by the fact that the unit for Old Testament faith is the nation rather than the individual. To the nation are given the pledges

of the eternal faithfulness, in whose blessings the individual shares only as a member of the holy covenant people. Clearly, the immortality of a nation may easily enough seem to be vouchsafed by its continuity from generation to generation; and it is instructive to notice that in the two passages that are perhaps most commonly cited to instance the Old Testament idea of resurrection—Hosea vi. 2 and Ezekiel xxxvii.—the conception, clearly, is that of the resurrection of a nation. So far as I am aware, there is, outside of Daniel, only one passage in the Old Testament, that speaks directly of a bodily resurrection of individuals, taken singly. I mean Isaiah xxvi. 19; and of it it has to be said, that it occurs in a section of the Book of Isaiah (chapters xxiv.–xxvii.),¹ that is clearly of

¹ See, *e.g.*, Duhm's *Commentary* (Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1892). Duhm remarks of the section, Isa. xxiv.–xxvii. : "It is considered on all hands of-a-piece and spurious. Indeed, Isaiah could as well have written the Book of Daniel as this piece" (p. 148). Dr. G. A. Smith allows the apocalyptic character of chap xxiv., and says that chaps. xxv.–xxvii. "may naturally be held to be a continuation" of it. For, though historical allusions are, in the latter chapters, numerous, "they contradict one another, to the perplexity of the most acute critics" ("Isaiah" in the *Expositor's Bible*, vol. i. pp. 416 and 428).

the nature of an apocalypse. In Daniel xii. 2 the conception of a bodily resurrection of individuals is distinctly expressed, and it became henceforward, in more or less limited form, a constant feature of apocalyptic books. The form of the doctrine, prevalent in the time of our Lord, and developed since the time of the Book of Daniel, is that of a twofold resurrection: (1) a resurrection of the faithful members of the covenant nation—a “resurrection of the just,” and (2) a *general* resurrection, preliminary to judgment in which all participate.

Putting out of account the little Apocalypse in Isaiah, we may say that the peculiar interest of the idea of resurrection in Daniel, above all apocalypses, is that we see it there, as it were, in the moment of birth. There is no growth upon it of reflection and convention. The freshness of the conception is, however, also its limitation. There is no sign that the apocalypticist contemplated a resurrection of all the past generations of faithful Israelites; and his words expressly exclude the idea of a *universal* resurrection. His message is to the generation

that has seen the distress out of the midst of which his book is written. He speaks to those, who are living through the agony, and, if the modern commentators are right, he definitely predicts the end of the Syrian oppression in three and a half years (Dan. xii. 7). Before this time, however, there will be distress such as was never known since there was a nation, and many of those who saw the beginning of it — whether faithful or unfaithful — shall before the end sleep the sleep of death. The seer's certainty of a resurrection is his certainty that death will neither rob those, who kept the covenant, of their share in the bliss of the coming Kingdom, nor shield those, who broke it, from the sting of reproach. The beauty and restraint of his language have seldom been equalled, and never (one may surely say) surpassed. "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."

It would be wholly unwarrantable to assert that, when our Lord clearly perceived and accepted the will of His Father that He should accomplish the Kingdom by way of suffering and death in Jerusalem, He fed His faith, that He would conquer death both for Himself and His followers, exclusively, or even perhaps mainly, on the Book of Daniel. The narrative of His encounter with the Sadducees, when they produced their fatuous puzzle of the woman with the seven husbands, would be alone sufficient to refute any such idea, and to prove that to Jesus the Old Testament Scriptures as a whole conveyed the pledge of the will and power of God to raise the dead who had lived unto Him. But there is, I venture to think, warrant for saying that, especially in the last days of His life in the flesh, the testimony of this book was much to Him. There are really no facts better attested in the Gospels than that, a day or two before His death, Jesus spoke prophetically to some of the leading disciples of the disasters that awaited the Jewish nation and capital in the near future ; that, at more than one point in this discourse, He quoted the

Book of Daniel ;¹ and that, in general, the circumstances of distress, which are depicted in the discourse, are closely similar to those in which, as we now know, the canonical Apocalypse was written.

All this did not happen by chance. There was behind it, I venture to think, the recognition of a peculiar suitableness in the testimony of this book to a situation that was about to emerge, and that, to His vision of faith, already existed. The seer in Daniel contemplated a condition of the national fortunes, that seemed to him, in a secular sense, desperate. He had no vision, like that common to the former prophets, of a restored city and Temple, or even, perhaps, of the resurrection of a nation; and yet he knew that God would give the Kingdom to those, who kept His covenant; and he testified that death itself would not rob the faithful of their reward. In His discourse to the disciples Jesus had in view a condition of secular affairs, resulting from the nation's unfaithfulness to God, equally hopeless; and when, speaking to the disciples, He cited

¹ Mark xiii. 14-26; cp. Dan. xi. 31, vii. 13.

Daniel, I understand Him to have meant, in effect, mainly that the pledge of deliverance, given in that ancient time to the faithful, was still valid.

Perhaps it may seem to you to add a point of persuasiveness to this view of things, if I close, by setting side by side a verse of Daniel and two reported sayings of Jesus, not specially apocalyptic in form. In Daniel xii. 1, we read : " There shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time : and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book."

" Rejoice not," said Jesus to a group of evangelists who were filled with gladness at the success of their first mission and knew nothing of the evil days to come, " that the spirits are subject unto you ; but rejoice that your names are written in heaven " (Luke x. 20).

And again : " Fear not, little flock ; it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom " (Luke xii. 32).

LECTURE III.

THE DOCTRINE OF JESUS CONCERNING
THE CONSUMMATION OF THE KING-
DOM, CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO
HIS ETHICAL DOCTRINE AND HIS
MESSIANIC CONSCIOUSNESS.

LECTURE III.

THE DOCTRINE OF JESUS CONCERNING THE CONSUMMATION OF THE KING- DOM, CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO HIS ETHICAL DOCTRINE AND HIS MESSIANIC CONSCIOUSNESS.

WE enter, now, on a discussion that is full of perplexity, and in regard to whose issues in detail many views are possible. It would be very easy to occupy this Lecture with an attempt to mediate between the conflicting views of learned men, whom one would like to see at one. At the risk of incurring a verdict of neglect of duty, I propose to continue the plan of asking you to look at the subject, as directly as possible, with your own eyes. It is, I fear, an inevitable misfortune that you should, for the present, look at it also through mine. Our general object is to ascertain, if possible, the

mind of Jesus regarding the Consummation of the Kingdom.

What did He actually think regarding the end of the world (as we know it), and the coming of the Kingdom? Can we state His doctrine to ourselves in any helpful way, apart from the pictures He usually employed; recognising, on the one hand, that, in the nature of the case, the pictures cannot be taken literally, and, on the other, that the pictorial language is a chief, if not the sole, authority? How does that doctrine stand to His ethical doctrine of the Kingdom, and to His own Messiahship?

I propose (as it were by anticipation) to summarise the teaching under three heads, each stating a contrast.

I. The Kingdom of God, in its contrast with the collapsing world-order.

II. The Messiah, in His contrast to the Prince of this world.

III. The Kingdom come, in its contrast to the Kingdom coming.

Shortly: The Kingdom, The Messiah, The Time.

Perhaps, as we state these heads, and remember that our subject is the Eschatology of Jesus, we are conscious of a certain meagreness in the material offered to our thought. It seems to vanish, like the apocalyptist's vision, to a point of glory. We see the heavens, and they are blue, but blank. The reason of this (I wish to say it at once) is, that we are trying, for the moment, to do what is really impossible, namely, to consider the eschatological teaching of Jesus apart from His ethical teaching. When spiritual things are set forth in pictures, their spiritual reality is, in some respects, rather veiled than revealed. The apocalyptic pictures of the glorious coming Kingdom and the evil collapsing world may exist in the imagination, quite apart from any corresponding inner thought regarding the conduct of men, and the appeal to them of the Divine goodness and love. In reality, no such things exist, as the pictures in themselves suggest. They are as unthinkable as, say, an object held in the hand that has only one side. The Kingdom of God has, so to speak, its other side in the motives and conduct of good men ;

and the collapsing world is quite as much the world made *by* evil men, as the fate prepared *for* them.

In the thought of Jesus these two sides of the one reality — we may call them the ethical and the eschatological — were never separate, though the emphasis He laid upon the transcendent character of the reality, and His unique power of speaking in pictures, tend, to a certain extent, to veil the fact from us. Nothing is more important in this investigation than to keep before us, not merely the reasonable hypothesis that this was so, but the certainty that it must have been so. Our investigation could have no conceivable interest for us unless we thought of the Kingdom (and were sure that Jesus also thought of it) as, in spite of its transcendence, an object of possible, and even in a substantial sense of actual, experience. We approach our subject, therefore, necessarily with the idea that, while Jesus certainly spoke of the Kingdom as something still to come, He could not have done so, in any sense inconsistent with the belief and experience that it was already in a real way present.

I. The text, which probably expresses to us most naturally Jesus' thought of the transcendence of the Kingdom above the world-order, is that, in which He says to Pilate: "My Kingdom is not of this world. If My Kingdom were of this world, My servants would be striving that I should not be delivered to the Jews, but now is My Kingdom not from thence"—*i.e.*, it does not come from that quarter, the world, but from heaven (John xviii. 36). But, remembering that these words occur in the Fourth Gospel, we may prefer to look for the expression of the same thought in the Synoptic Gospels. We find it in the passage, Mark xii. 13 ff., and parallels, containing the incident of the tribute money, that bore the image of Cæsar. The Pharisees wished to know whether He, whom the people seemed ready to accept as the Messiah, found anything offensive in this sign of the subjection of the Messianic people to a foreign yoke.

It is best for our present purpose to look away from the sinister motive of the Pharisees, and the rebuke it doubtless received in the answer of Jesus. Apart from this, the words of Jesus

seem clearly to mean: *Why should not one be both a subject of Cæsar, and a subject of God in the Messianic Kingdom?* Where there are no points of contact, there can be no collision. The natures of the two jurisdictions are entirely distinct. Jesus was not concerned to say here what, according to the Fourth Gospel, He said in effect to Pilate—that the power of Cæsar also was, in its own way, a trust from God. It was enough to have dealt with the point actually submitted, and wholly characteristic of Him to have said nothing to blunt the edge of the distinction between the things of Cæsar and the things of God. One who was about to submit to death, at the hand of the world-power, in order to bring in the Kingdom of Heaven, could say no word in favour of political rebellion. If the Roman dominion was wrong, let them bear the wrong patiently, following a King who entered on His glory and theirs through suffering.

The most patent proof that Jesus thought of the Kingdom as a transcendent thing, lies of course in His use of the apocalyptic imagery ;

but I give the first place to the evidence of such a passage as that just referred to, because it is connected clearly with a practical situation. It is easy to move, in imagination, with the apocalyptic Seer in the heavenly regions, where all things are possible; but the essential point for us to determine is, whether or not Jesus took seriously the thought imbedded in the apocalyptic pictures. As to what the thought is, there is no doubt. He Himself has referred us to the Book of Daniel, especially chap. vii. Here we have the contrast of the four kingdoms, whose symbols are beasts that rise out of the sea, with the final Kingdom, whose symbol is "one like unto a son of man" (verse 13). The four beasts represent the powers that have been successively the political masters of the chosen people, and of the world (as known to them) from the Babylonian exile to the apocalypticist's own time. In origin, nature, and duration they are the opposite of the Kingdom, whose symbol is a human form. In origin they are from beneath. He is from above. In nature they are savage and pitiless, torn, even while they last, with their own violence. The

heavenly kingdom is humane. Its rulers are the saints, the worshippers of Jehovah, who keep His law. As to time, the dominion of the beasts is taken away after a season, but to the "one like unto a son of man" is given a universal and lasting dominion.

We shall have occasion in the next Lecture to point out that the vision of the Seer, however impressive, has limitations, which could not have attached to the vision of Jesus. Yet we have only to compare it with the passage, in which the Master deals with the request of the sons of Zebedee for places of power in the Messianic Kingdom, to see how entirely the essential thoughts of the Daniel Apocalypse lent themselves to the mind of Jesus. We see also how entirely in earnest our Lord is with the distinction marked in the apocalyptic name, "Kingdom of the Heavens."

The apocalyptic language is of course, in its way, the most forcible expression of this contrast; but then, it is language of the imagination, which leaves us asking for the corresponding reality. We do not ask in vain. In the request of the

sons of Zebedee, Jesus saw and condemned the desire for honour and power, that should be bestowed, as a mere gift, apart from service. Here precisely is the point, where the absolute difference between this perishing world and the lasting heavenly Kingdom can be stated, in terms of the human conscience and experience.

It looks like a childish insistence on what is obvious, and yet, in view of the emphasis which writers like J. Weiss have laid on what has been called the biblical realism, it seems necessary to say that Jesus did not attach any sort of importance to the *local* contrast of earth and heaven. The essential distinction lay for Him, as it lies for us, in a region, contained indeed in time and space, in its manifestation conditioned by them, but, in its own nature, independent of them.

This region (we must call it by some name) has two sides, and it touches us simultaneously with both. If we define these sides by reference to their analogues in ourselves, we shall say that the one is the side of religious faith, the other that of moral experience. These two sides were always to Jesus — what they

are to the modern Christian thinker—mutually inclusive. He knew nothing of religion without morality, or of morality without religion. The only difference between Him and a modern thinker is that, so far as we know, He never contemplated either side of this unity in its abstract separateness from the other. He certainly never contemplated the modern monstrosity of a secular morality divorced from all hope of the Hereafter. In any case, He knew nothing of a *shall be* of the future, the vision of which was dissociated in His mind from an *ought to be* of the present. In other words, His ethical always kept pace with His eschatological teaching.

We see this very clearly in the incident of the sons of Zebedee. Jesus had often spoken of the Kingdom of God in the future sense, and He had spoken of it as a gift. Why might not supremacy in it be simply *given* to two particular individuals—James and John? Jesus' reply is to turn to the sons of Zebedee the side of His thought which they had neglected. They had asked, practically, for the kind of

thing that is seen every day in this world—power possessed and exercised apart from moral fitness; and they had done so in implicit faith in the promise of Jesus regarding the Kingdom that should be. Jesus says to them, in effect, that they are presupposing in the Kingdom precisely the thing that *shall not be*. By implication, also, His answer contains the thought that it is just its indifference or opposition to what *ought to be* that makes the sentence of perishing passed upon the world-order so certain. Could we find clearer proof than this incident affords, that, in the teaching of our Lord, ethical principle dominated apocalyptic imagery, and not, as J. Weiss would almost have it, *vice versa*?

For all that, we must be sure that we do no injustice to that element in Jesus' teaching, which Weiss very properly emphasises, namely, the *transcendence* of the Kingdom of God, and its *gracious* character. These two qualities seem to be correlative. If the Kingdom is transcendent, in the sense of being removed from the conditions of the natural order of this world, it is scarcely conceivable that it should be a mere product of

the best actions of the best men. I cannot find anything in the language of Jesus to warrant the views of those who make Him responsible for the philosophical paradox that the Kingdom is both gift of God and product of men. It is common to cite Matthew vi. 33, as if it contained this paradox. This, I venture to think, is unwarranted. Jesus is speaking not about *producing* the Kingdom, but about an attitude of spirit suitable to its reception. Moral effort no more produces the Kingdom than anxious toil produces food and raiment; true as it is, in each case, that the effort and the toil are necessary. What Jesus seems to say is: "Do not worry over things like food and raiment, as if these were all the worth of life, and God had no care for the interests they represent. Do not even *worry* over the Kingdom. Show only by the way you live—your regard for justice and mercy and faith, and your comparative indifference to the things which the men of this 'age' value—that what you supremely desire is the Kingdom of God and His *righteousness* (*δικαιοσύνη* = possibly, rather, *justification*); do this, and not only will this supreme Divine good be given

to your desire, but the lesser temporal goods will be thrown into the bargain (*προστεθήσεται*)."

At the same time, the philosophic interpreters are wholly right in the perception that there is very close affinity between the condition of receiving the thing (expressed in "*seek ye*") and the thing itself, namely, the Kingdom of God; and, if writers like J. Weiss compel attention to the transcendent nature of the Kingdom as something wholly beyond the compass of human production—beyond even the productive power of the good will of a good man—writers of the modern philosophical type are also useful. They compel us to include in our definition of the Kingdom of God—and indeed to put in its very centre—a reference to the motives of conduct.

After all, the renewed heaven and earth, of which the apocalyptist speaks, do not constitute the Kingdom that is not of this world. They are only its circumference. It takes nothing from the transcendence of the Kingdom, and it is the first step towards making it an object of real interest and aspiration, to say, that it is a power that acts primarily on the human will, and only

secondarily upon things that are independent of that will; just as it does not take from the glory of God, but only expresses it, to say that He is primarily holy love, and only secondarily sovereign power.

It is worth remarking, by the way, that it is probably to this fact we are to look for the explanation of the practical disappearance of the phrase, *Kingdom of God*, from all the books of the New Testament outside the Synoptic Gospels, except the Apocalypse. The few occasions¹ on which, for example, Paul uses the phrase, may perhaps imply that it was still, in his time, the phrase which the early Christians were accustomed to use as a comprehensive description of the grace of God in the gospel; but when Paul said, "The Kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in

¹ In his commentary on "Romans" in the *Expositor's Greek Testament* (*in. loc.*, Rom. xiv. 17), Dr. Denney points out that, out of seven other passages, where *Kingdom of God* occurs in the Pauline writings, there are *six*, in which it is clearly used in the transcendent sense—in one case (2 Tim. iv. 18) with the epithet, *heavenly*—against *one* (1 Cor. iv. 20), where it is used in a sense akin to that in the Synoptic Gospels. The six are: 1 Cor. vi. 9 f., xv. 50; Gal. v. 21; 1 Thess. ii. 12; 2 Thess. i. 5; 2 Tim. iv. 18.

the Holy Ghost" (Rom. xiv. 17), he gave probably a sufficient reason for dispensing with the phrase in most places, where he had occasion to speak of just these things.

It can hardly, I think, be doubted that to the average mind of the first century, whether Jewish or Gentile, the phrase would inevitably carry with it a medley of political and apocalyptic images, and so would easily lend itself to a fanatical use. If that were so, Jesus must have been aware of it; and it is a remarkable fact—a sign perhaps of His unique calm foresight—that, in spite of all the dangers of misunderstanding, He retained the phrase in habitual use. He not only said *Kingdom of God*, but, according to Matthew, He used the more distinctively Jewish and apocalyptic phrase, *Kingdom of the Heavens*. In this study we must be ruled by His example, and we may close this paragraph by attempting a definition of the Kingdom of God in Jesus' sense. We can neither define it, in the spirit of Hellenism, as a new order of society, in which their proper supreme place is given to justice and piety,—it may be this, but it is more,—nor can we define it, in the

spirit of Jewish Apocalypse, as a system of things in which the happiness of good men is secured against all limitation or disaster, arising from causes operating in this world. It may be this also, but this is not the centre. The rules of right definition are, that it be sufficiently comprehensive and that it proceed from the centre.

These conditions will, I venture to think, be fulfilled, if we say that the Kingdom of God is the *sum of all the good things* belonging to the *supernatural life of God's children*, and that these good things are, primarily, powers of *holy truth and love* acting on the *human conscience and will*.

II. Our second topic in this Lecture is Jesus' Conception of His own Person—in other words, His Messianic Consciousness. This subject will naturally enter into the discussion proposed for next Lecture—that, namely, regarding the title “Son of Man.” Here it may be sufficient briefly to indicate how inextricably the doctrine of the Kingdom of God is, in the Gospels, bound up with the consciousness that Jesus is the Person,

who brings the Kingdom to earth, and establishes it there. The Gospels persistently use words, or represent Jesus as using them, which imply that He stood in a unique relation to God, His Father, and to men, His brethren, in virtue of which He was the dispenser, to those who believed in Him, of the supernatural blessings of the heavenly Kingdom. Not the most sceptical student of the Gospels dreams of denying that, from their point of view, the doctrines of the Kingdom of God and of the double trusteeship of Jesus (that towards God and that towards men) stand or fall together. To the Evangelists, and the New Testament generally, the Kingdom has its King—not simply God, but Jesus whom God has chosen ; and the King—He whom God has chosen—has the Kingdom. There may be a question as to how precisely the Kingship is to be understood. That is a question of interpretation. There may be a still graver question, as to its precise historic equivalent in the consciousness of Jesus Himself. But, indubitably, to all the New Testament writers, Jesus is the King ; and, from their point of view,

it is practically one and the same thing to say, *God reigns* and *Jesus reigns*.

It is obvious that we touch here on a matter of vital importance to our present study. If the testimony of the Gospels is to be, *in the main*, accepted or rejected, it must be at this point and no other. For the centre of gravity in the Gospels is not, after all, the doctrine of the Kingdom of God. That phrase might, *a priori*, be considered as simply specialising a commonplace of philosophy, or apocalyptic, or political theory, peculiarly germane to the Jewish mind. The centre of gravity is not even what, in the view of the Gospels, Jesus *taught* regarding the Kingdom. Doubtless, He taught much to which the universal conscience of men will always respond.

The centre of gravity in the Gospels is, without a doubt, what they teach regarding the peculiar relation of Jesus to the Kingdom. In other words, it is not their doctrine of the Kingdom, but their doctrine of the King.

I will pause here only to say that it must be towards this point we must look for the reconciliation of the apparent dualism between

the Kingdom, conceived as present, and the Kingdom conceived as future. It is in the consciousness of Jesus, if anywhere, that we may hope to find a point, at which the present will be seen to carry the future securely in its bosom, and the future will seem to be as the present. In other words, if we are able to see that what characterises Jesus is the double consciousness,—that He is the Messiah, *i.e.*, the Person appointed to effectuate the Kingdom, and that He can bring His work to its glorious consummation only through a career of patient suffering and service,—there can be no need to puzzle over the paradox of Kingdom that *is*, and yet is *to be*. The real puzzle is, not the *thing* but the *Person*.

III. We come now to the very critical question: What did Jesus actually think and teach regarding the *time* of the consummation?

I regard the data for settling this question, so far as it can be settled, as mainly the following:—

1. There is our axiom of moral certainty, that Jesus could not have said, in one compass of

reference, that He did not know the day and hour of the consummation, but that, yet, all the signs of it would be accomplished in that generation. No doubt, the earlier Evangelists would be able to reconcile these two statements. Probably they felt no difficulty about them, or, if they did feel a difficulty, they had a solution. Perhaps they were helped by a certain literalism: "He said, indeed, that He did not know the *day* nor the *hour*, but that has nothing to do with the certainty He expressed that all would happen within our own generation."

It cannot be said that this was in any way an unnatural position for the first generation of Christians to take up. It is probably nearer the truth to say, that it was an inevitable position. They saw the collapse of the Jewish State, and they felt the world sinking beneath their feet. If they felt any difficulty, it was not with the saying, *All will happen in this generation*, but with the other. With us the position is precisely the reverse. The explanation natural to the Evangelists is for us impossible and preposterous. If Jesus did not know the "day" nor the "hour,"

neither did He know the *time*—whether “this generation” or the next.

2. I am disposed to claim, as a second *datum* in this discussion, that there are no two sayings in the Gospels better attested than Mark xiii. verses 30 and 32 (cp. Matt. xxiv. verses 34 and 36, Luke xxi. 32). For purposes of reference, we may call the former “This generation,” and the latter “Not even the Son.” The canon, which Professor Schmiedel has laid down in his remarkable article “Gospels,” in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, that those sayings of Jesus are to be considered genuine, which have the appearance of running counter to the view of His Divine dignity, which the Evangelists were concerned to uphold, is no doubt far from being the only canon for detecting genuineness. But it is unquestionably a *valid* canon. If Jesus had not actually said, “Not even the Son,” no conceivable motive would have induced reporters, whose tendency was to believe in His literal omniscience, to *represent* Him as saying it. And just because He most certainly said, “Not even the Son,” the other saying, “This generation,” must have

presented to the Evangelists an aspect of difficulty. On critical principles, this very difficulty is a strong guarantee that the saying is genuine.

We may, therefore, take it as certain that in some connection or another Jesus said, with emphasis, "*This generation shall not pass till all these things be done.*" The question is: In *what* connection, or with what precise meaning?

I am disposed to think that no answer to this question, other than conjectural, is possible; and, if we exclude (as I have ventured to do) the view that Jesus could have meant to say, that the end of the world-order and the consummation of glory would, for certain, happen during the lifetime of the generation to whom He spoke, the question in what particular reference He uttered the saying, "This generation," while it remains interesting, ceases to be momentous. The answer, *i.e.*, even if attainable, does not strike one as likely to shed any fresh or important light upon the mind of Jesus.

Yet it is worth remembering that the saying in question is not, or at any rate need not be regarded as, an isolated utterance. It may be

considered rather as one of a class of which there are, at least, three other examples in the Gospels. The first is Matt. x. 23, where Jesus says to His missionaries: "Verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, until the Son of Man be come." The second is Mark ix. 1—cp. Matt. xvi. 28, "The Son of Man coming in His Kingdom," and Luke ix. 27, "Until they see the Kingdom of God"—"Verily I say unto you, that there are some of those standing here, who shall not taste death, until they see the Kingdom of God having come (*ἐληλυθυῖαν*) in power." And the third is Mark xiv. 62—cp. Matt. xxvi. 64, "From henceforth," and Luke xxii. 69, "From now the Son of Man shall be sitting"—"Ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven."

These sayings are, practically, on the same footing of certainty with "This generation," and they are sayings of the same kind. A *class* of sayings undoubtedly possesses an interest, which can hardly belong to an isolated utterance. To find a clue to a *class* of sayings, suggests the revelation of a mental attitude of Jesus towards a wide range of

things. Suppose we found it impossible to say, in regard to any one of these sayings taken by itself, what Jesus *must* have meant, we may still be able, looking at them collectively, to reach a point of view from which we may see clearly what He *may* have meant by any one of them in particular, or even by *all* of them taken together.

This collective clue, it seems to me, begins to emerge, as we bring into view the *data* I have now to mention.

3. We may describe them generally as the *pervasive data*, meaning by this that they do not consist of isolated utterances, but are expressive rather of a tone, that pervades the Gospels, either in whole, or in great part.

(a) First, there is the undoubted fact that the preaching of Jesus began with an alarm note taken up from John the Baptist, to which He added, or (if it is preferred) which He converted into, a note of good news. Here is how it is put in Mark i. 4: "After John had been delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the good news of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, the

Kingdom of God has come near; repent and believe in the good news."

The point to which I ask attention, is that the note sounded in these words is pervasive. Whether or not Jesus had definite convictions regarding the end or transformation of the world in a physical sense, He was *sure* that the Kingdom of God was at hand. It was not a surmise, it was more than a prophecy. The Kingdom had really come upon that generation. There were choice souls, who saw the proof of its powers in works of healing, and there was One, to whom it was given to move the finger of God and to see Satan fall from heaven.¹ In other words, the Kingdom was not only coming, it had in substance really arrived.

We are inquiring as to likelihoods concerning what Jesus may have said about the end of the world. If He said, continually, the Kingdom is coming, from the point of view of One who already experienced and exercised its powers, He must have had a corresponding persuasion that the worldly order, in so far as it was opposed to the

¹ See especially Luke xi. 20 (cp. Matt. xii. 28 f.), xvii. 20 f., x. 17 ff.

Kingdom, was about to collapse. The casting out of the unclean demons, that made the bodies of men the habitation of disease and corruption, was a sure sign that the Prince of this world would be cast out. Certainty regarding this latter crisis was the negative side of His certainty as to the power and will of God to give the Kingdom to His poor ones, and to satisfy the hungry with the bread of righteousness.

Now, this must have given to the speech and bearing of Jesus a certain other-worldliness. His disciples, He said, were to rejoice in nothing but that their names were written in heaven. I consider it certain that He must have given both to them and to others the impression that He reckoned the days of this world, as they knew it, to be numbered.

The question, important for us to ask, is: Did He become a kind of speaking Apocalypticist, and commit Himself in any degree to calculations as to physical details? My answer is, that it would take a good deal more evidence than is contained in the eschatological utterances reported in the Gospels, to make it seem in the

least degree likely that He did anything of the kind. There is no reason to doubt the testimony of the Synoptists, that He described the collapse of the world in terms suggested by the canonical Scriptures.¹ There is the same propriety or even inevitableness in His doing this, as there is in His shaping the figure of the glorified Messiah according to the vision in Daniel. It is also according to probability, I should say it was inevitable, that He should have made the cosmical catastrophe, or transformation, practically coincident with the manifestation of the Son of Man in the glory of the clouds. The transformation of the world and the coming of the Kingdom are correlates in His mind. But, then, it is precisely of the time of the concluding glory that He confesses ignorance; and, if He was ignorant of the one term in this correlation, He was ignorant also of the other.

It seems to me that, on *this* point, this is about as far as we can go with certainty. We may take it for certain, that Jesus did not bind Himself to the assertion, that the end of the world and

¹ Cp., e.g., Mark xiii. 24 f. with Joel ii. 30 f. and Hag. ii. 21.

the supreme manifestation of the Messianic glory would take place within the lifetime of His own generation.

Those, who choose to go beyond this, and to say that, while not formally expressing it, Jesus privately believed it, and sometimes in speaking to the disciples seemed to assume it, certainly provide an adequate explanation of the fact that the first generation of Christians held this expectation. But it is an explanation, to which we should resort only under stress of necessity. The natural and reverent supposition surely is, that the vision of Jesus, even on earth, was not limited in *this*, or perhaps in *any* respect, in quite the same way as that of His most faithful followers. The utmost, it seems to me, which we can allow ourselves to say, in the direction of the opinion in question, is, that there is no sure evidence that Jesus sought to undermine the assumption of His followers, that the final glory would be manifested in their day ; and even this we may fairly qualify with the remembrance, that a main motive of the principal eschatological discourse, reported by the Synoptists, is

to warn the disciples against premature expectations.

But we have still to face the "This generation" saying, and the *class* of sayings of which the testimony before Caiaphas is the most remarkable instance.

I propose to deal with the difficulties raised by these sayings in connection with the two *data* of the class *pervasive* which remain to be mentioned.

(b) I venture, then, to mark as the sure *datum*, in whose light we must find a context for the "This generation" saying, the fact that, at least towards the close of His ministry, Jesus appeared as a prophet of judgment against Jerusalem and the Jewish nation. The question, at *what* point in His career Jesus took this attitude, is clearly connected with a question, which need not concern us here, namely, whether He perceived from the first, or only a little before the occasion of the solemn interrogation of the disciples at Cæsarea Philippi, the necessity of His own death. Personally, I incline to the latter view, although it involves the disallowance of an absolutely pervasive character

to the *datum* with which we are dealing.¹ We are seeking for things that are certain, and there is nothing more certain in the evangelic record than that, before the end of His ministry, Jesus uttered over Jerusalem the wail of a patriot and the woe of a prophet.

We may define the certainty more closely. His prophetic woe connected itself directly with nothing political. There is no likelihood in, certainly no evidence for, the idea that Jesus even once in public discourse took up the burden of His people on its political side, and enlarged on the hopelessness and folly of rebellion against the Roman power. We may safely say that no minister of God ever left secondary things more strictly alone. The point at which He levelled the thunderbolt of the judgment of truth

¹ The strongest statement of the opposite case, with which I am acquainted, is that of Dr. James Denney in the chapter in his *Death of Christ* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1902), which deals with the Synoptic testimony (especially the baptism of Jesus and the saying about the Bridegroom being taken away). There is perhaps hardly evidence to warrant us in saying more than that from the first (the Baptism and Temptation) Jesus faced the *possibility*, if not the *likelihood*, of a tragic issue to His earthly mission. From the beginning, the Shepherd identified Himself with His "lost sheep." Their fate would be His—as God might will—even unto death.

was not the political fanaticism that was fermenting in the nation, but the pretentiousness and externalism of its religion. It was not simply that the Pharisaic ideas of the righteousness and worship, which God required, were inadequate. They were ideas, that led, more or less directly, to the evasion of the Divine will. The worship which embodied them was not only a slighting of God ; it was apostacy. For evasion is apostacy in its most subtle form.

In one sense the *datum* with which we are dealing may be termed pervasive. Jesus was never in two minds about the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees. From the first He regarded it as something to be not only exceeded, but corrected. As it stood, it had nothing to do with the Kingdom of God.

It is at least possible, I should be disposed to say probable, that He hoped at first for the conversion of His people apart from any purgatorial fire of disaster and revolution. Might there not be in the prophetic word alone a force sufficient to detach the Jewish people, and especially their leaders, from an unfruitful and mischievous

legalism? In suffering He learned that His people did not know the day of their visitation. He read the judgment of His nation in their rejected blessing. From this moment all His words about His nation were cast in the mould of a prophecy of doom. Jerusalem was tumbling to its destruction. It was not only credible but certain that the end was near. It was His way to speak in pictures and to quote Scripture.

It is to me, therefore, entirely credible, that apart from a descent into secondary political details, speaking simply as a prophet and as the Messiah, He should have pointed dramatically to the Temple and said: "By and by, yea within this generation, not one stone shall be left upon another. By and by, even you shall see Jerusalem hedged in with heathen armies, as in the days of Isaiah and Jeremiah. By and by, you shall see in this temple the 'abomination of desolation' of which we read in Daniel;¹ and shall know that Jerusalem is no safe place for the chosen ones of God."

No doubt, this prophecy had a literal fulfil-

¹ Dan. xi. 31 ; cp. viii. 13.

ment. It was a case, in which picture and reality ran inevitably together. But surely we may say that what occupied the mind of Jesus was not a series of probable, or even certain, historical and political events, but rather simply the certainty He had from His Father, that, if His own days on earth were numbered, so also were those of the nation and the system, that were casting Him forth. For, in fact, *He* saw already what the men of that generation were to see in sensible forms. To Him, the Temple, as it stood, represented a dead system, that would fall by its own weight. The Jewish religion was no acceptable service. It was a heathen mummary.¹ The Abomination, that made desolate, stood already in the Holy Place. Let that old Temple be destroyed, and in two or three days²—let alone a generation—God would raise up another, indestructible, and not made with hands.

It seems to me, then, that we are on entirely safe ground, when we regard the so-called great eschatological discourse (Mark xiii. = Matthew xxiv.)

¹ Matt. vi. 7.

² Hos. vi. 2 ; cp. Mark xiv. 58, John ii. 19.

as mainly a number of utterances, regarding the hastening decay of the Jewish legal system, which the Evangelists have strung together with, in the main, real insight, but also with some natural misconception, and with an obvious desire to point the moral of things that were happening at the time they wrote. "Not one stone upon another," "the Abomination of desolation," "Jerusalem compassed with armies" (this only in Luke xxi. 20), "this generation," "where the carcass, there the vultures," are vivid plastic utterances, saying only the one thing, viz., that the nation and system which reject God are already rejected by Him, that what *has* been in this regard will be again, and that the sensible proof of it will be swift and sure.

There is no warrant to speak of any of these utterances, at least in their essential features,—not even "Jerusalem compassed with armies,"—as prophecies *post eventum*. But neither is it altogether right for us to treat them as the Evangelists did. There is, to say the least, not sufficient evidence to warrant us in assuming, as they assumed, that Jesus regarded the fall of the

Jewish State as an event indistinguishable in time or essence from the end of the world. And, even if we consider ourselves warranted in assuming that His imagination in its earthly limitation necessarily placed the latter event within the compass of His own generation, or that His prophetic vision was closely conformed to the canonical model and looked straight across the valley of present trouble to the mountain of the Lord and the eternal light (Isa. ii. 2 ff.), these somewhat precarious tenets do not carry us the length of saying that, in spite of His assurance that He was ignorant of the "day" and "hour" of the Son of Man, in spite of His statements that the Kingdom would be preached to all nations and would be given to those who bore its fruits, in spite of His careful warnings against false Christs and premature expectations, He gave the disciples the solemn assurance that every symptom of the consummation, and the consummation itself, would fall within their own time.

It seems to me that, even if we had in the Gospels a much more ample testimony in favour of

the assertion that He said any such thing (instead of a verse or two, representing the natural misconception of men who wrote within a generation from Jesus' death, and felt the world, as they had known it, sinking beneath their feet), we should have a right to feel that the thing asserted was incredible. And we should profitably remember that in a discussion, regarding any fact of real importance in the life of Jesus, the decisive factor is not any arithmetical balance between reports of what He said and reports of what seems the opposite, but rather our certainty—arising from our knowledge of His character—of what He must have thought and meant. It is useful to remember that, even in matters of criticism, the supreme evidence is Jesus Himself—Jesus as we know Him here and now, Jesus as we know Him in God's providence and by God's Spirit through these Gospels.

(c) There remains, however, still something to be said—as it were—from the *other* side. Suppose we grant that Jesus neither expressly nor in thought synchronised the fall of the Jewish State and the collapse or final transformation

of the world, it by no means follows that He considered the demolition of the Jewish system simply as a woful event in a wholly indefinite series of preparations for a far-off end. The Gospels give us, it seems to me, irresistibly the impression that Jesus must have attached, and that with emphasis, some sort of finality—in relation to the whole world and the coming of the Kingdom—to the downfall of the Jewish State; in particular, the downfall of Jewish legalism and religious supremacy.

Quite apart from specially eschatological texts, this impression comes to us along with our feeling of the deadliness of the conflict, in which Jesus found Himself engaged with the religious authorities of Jerusalem. The conflict was deadly, not simply in its murderous issue on the Cross, but in the passionate tension of His own spirit. If we might put it exegetically, the finality is to be found rather in chapter xxiii. than in chapter xxiv. of Matthew's Gospel. We may perhaps say that chapter xxiv. is scenery, and chapter xxiii. is text.

One gets from chapter xxiii. the impression

that, to Jesus' mind, there was no sin in the world worth speaking about compared with the sin of His own nation. They bear the fate and the guilt of the rest of the world. They bar the entrance of others into the Kingdom. Children of hell, they draw their proselytes into closer folds of flame. Murderers and children of murderers, they bear the guilt of all the "righteous blood shed upon the earth." And Jesus did not speak of these things as a mere spectator, or even as a prophet like Jeremiah, in whose bones the word burned. He spoke as One, who saw and felt the power of murder and hell let loose upon Himself.

We may well feel that we have no measure for the moral passion of Jesus. It takes us probably as far beyond our depth as the mystery of His unique Sonship.

But the records permit us in some degree to see the perspective, in which He viewed His environment in relation to the purpose of God. Four things stand out clearly :

i. *Firstly*, there is His recognition of the peculiar favour shown to Israel. The Jews

were the vineyard of the Lord, planted and cherished with peculiar care. They were the heirs of the Kingdom. To them God sent the prophets, and, last of all, His own Son.

ii. *Secondly*, there is His recognition of the failure of Israel. The vineyard was fruitless. Those, who garnished the tombs of the prophets, were the children of those who murdered them. They would reveal their kinship in the murder of the Son. This act would fill the cup of iniquity to the full. No greater resistance of the Divine will was possible upon earth.

Hence there can be no hesitation in admitting that to Jesus, in the last weeks of His life, the near advent of the day of judgment for the Jewish nation, involving it in many-sided ruin, was solemn and terrible certainty. He saw this ruin. He painted it in sensible forms. He had a vision of the demolished Temple, and Jerusalem compassed with armies. The prophecy had in it no artificial apocalyptic reckoning. It came purely from the spirit and supremacy of His holiness.

iii. Now, if we put, side by side with this

prophecy, His clear recognition of the Providence that had placed Israel in a position of superior spiritual advantage in relation to the rest of the world, we shall not hesitate to say, *thirdly* (even if there were not chapter and verse for it in the great eschatological discourse), that He must have judged that, in compassing its own ruin, Israel was hastening catastrophe for the whole world. When, in the Fourth Gospel,¹ Jesus represents His death, on its spiritual side, as a contest for possession in the world between Himself and the Prince of Darkness, we need not settle the question as to the strict historicity of the *Logia* in John before being certain that the thought, thus expressed, is true to the mind of Jesus. On its negative side, the thought is clearly that the world has reached its last stage of corruption. Some sort of cosmical collapse or transformation must therefore be in near prospect.

Taken in itself, the conception of such a collapse awes and overwhelms the imagination. "The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall

¹ John xvi. 11 ; cp. Luke xxii. 53.

not give her light, and the stars of heaven shall fall, and the powers that are in heaven shall be shaken" (Mark xiii. 24 f.). The imagery is impressive, without being in the least degree extravagant. It is to me wholly credible that, when our Lord was depicting the fall of the Jewish nation in terms that touched literal as well as spiritual fact, He should have added just such an impressive indication, through Scriptural symbols, of the fact that such a catastrophe would shake the whole world. Only here, it seems to me, we have the right to say that, to His own consciousness, the words used had no relation to literal fact, or, at any rate, no such relation to it as the imagery, in which He depicted the destruction of Jerusalem.

It will hardly be called mere conjecture to say that One, who had found instances of faith among Gentiles such as He had not found in Israel, did not think so badly of the rest of the world as He did of His own nation. Did He not say in so many words that the Kingdom would be taken from the Jews and given to a nation yielding its fruits?¹

¹ Matt. xxi. 41, 43.

It will hardly seem a straining of matters to say, that He found relief for His despair of the Jews in His hope for the Gentiles.

iv. Hence, *fourthly*, while it seems true to say that the act of submissive faith, in which He looked forward to His own violent death, carried with it the conviction that the nation, which compassed His murder, stood within measurable distance of its own irretrievable fall, it is at least as true to say, that He conceived His death, on its *positive* side, as setting free a power, which should begin *straightway* to work for the redemption of the world. His certainty, in this reference, had little in common with the equipment of an apocalyptic writer. It was no uncertain light reflected from a past artificially treated as future. It was a certainty peculiar to Himself, and proceeding from His consciousness of being the Executor of God's purpose. When He accepted the decree of death, He knew that He had reached the last stage in the fulfilment of that purpose. It was verily the Last Time. His death would bring life to the world.

It appears to me, therefore, that the sayings,

in which He seems to depict the collapse of the world, represent simply the obverse side of His conviction—a conviction of which the most precious thing in the universe, viz., His own life, was the pledge—that, behind the veil of His flesh rent in the sacrifice for sin, there opened out for humanity a new and glorious career, in which it should be seen, *even by the men of that generation*, to start forward, vested in measureless powers of truth and holiness and love.

No criticism will ever shake the evidence that Jesus *had* this conviction. Doubtless, the verbal testimonies to it are not frequent in our authorities. There are things of which men will hardly speak, for which yet, perchance, they are found willing to die.

Jesus was no speaking apocalyptist. His hope for humanity was written on the heart broken for sin and offered to God. His prophecy for a redeemed world is to be read out of His prophecy for Himself. “Ye shall see,” He said before Caiaphas, “the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven.”

A metaphor — not even an original but a borrowed metaphor! Yes, but He who used the metaphor has, as it happens, the thing, whose meaning and worth the world, even at this date, is only in process of learning.

LECTURE IV.

THE TITLE "SON OF MAN."

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ON about forty² different occasions, according to the Synoptists, Jesus spoke of Himself in the third person under the title "Son of Man." The title was used only by Himself. It was assigned without explanation, and it occasioned no surprise. It was Jesus' own way of expressing the dignity of One, who did the work of the Messiah. In other words, the Synoptists convey the impression—and they intend to convey it—that throughout His public ministry Jesus called Himself by a title, that had Messianic significance

¹ The best monographs in English on the subject of this Lecture are probably Dr. Driver's article "Son of Man" in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, and the corresponding article of Professor N. Schmidt in the *Encyc. Bibl.* I am far from agreeing with the findings of the latter, and I attach more value than Dr. Driver does to those of Fiebig.

² See Appendix C, I.

at least for Himself, and was associated in His mind with the "one like unto a son of man," who comes with the clouds in Daniel's vision of the final Kingdom. It would be too much to say that the Synoptists represent our Lord's general hearers, or even the disciples, as clearly understanding the official meaning of the title. Their silence on the point, taken along with their representation of the perplexity of the multitude about Jesus, is evidence rather to the contrary. On the other hand, there is no hint that the perplexity of the people had anything to do with Jesus' use of the title "Son of Man." It is as if the narrators intended to say that what the title meant to Jesus, *that*, so far as they could understand it, it meant also to His hearers.

The title is peculiar to the Gospels. Except in the record of Stephen's martyrdom,¹ and in two passages of the Apocalypse of John,² it does not occur in the other books of the New Testament. The exceptions, moreover, are more apparent than real. Stephen's words are of the nature of a citation of Jesus' own testimony to

¹ Acts vii. 56.

² Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14.

Caiaphas.¹ He means to say that that testimony is being verified in his own experience. The phraseology of the Apocalypse is obviously modelled on Daniel, and does not suggest a title. Up to less than ten years ago the problem connected with this title, while of course profound, was in form simple. All that was asked was, What did Jesus mean by calling Himself *the Son of Man*? Nowadays, at least for the moment, things wear a different aspect. We are apt to lose sight of the profundity of the problem in its plurality. For the question is no longer one, but three. The *First* question is: (1) Did Jesus really call Himself by any such title? or, rather, Could He have done so in the language He presumably used—viz., Aramaic? When we have answered this question affirmatively, we are then permitted to ask, *Secondly*: (2) Did He do so habitually, and throughout the whole course of His ministry, as the Gospels seem to represent? *Finally*: On the understanding that we have mastered the difficulties which have led some scholars to answer the first question in the

¹ Cp. Luke xxii. 69 with Acts vii. 56.

negative, we are permitted to ask the one question that had any existence or interest for scholars like, say, Ewald or Keim: (3) What did Jesus mean by calling Himself the Son of Man?

I. In regard to question 1, the negative position has been taken, so far as I am aware, on philological grounds only. It has been asserted with confidence by Lietzmann¹ and Wellhausen² that Jesus could not have used in Aramaic any phrase of self-designation of which "the Son of Man," in the emphatic, significant sense of our Greek Gospels, would be the proper translation; and even a critic like Fiebig,³ whose phenomenal researches in documents illustrating Aramaic usage have led him on this question to essentially conservative results, goes so far with the negative critics as to allow that the proper rendering of the phrase Jesus used—*Bar'ēnāshā'*, or *Barnāshā'*—is simply *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*

¹ *Der Menschensohn, ein Beitrag zur neutestamentlichen Theologie.* Mohr, 1896.

² *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, Heft vi. Berlin, 1899.

³ *Der Menschensohn Jesu Selbstbezeichnung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des aramäischen Sprachgebrauchs für "Mensch."* Mohr, 1901.

(= The Man). Clearly, a position like Fiebig's does not, in any way, compromise the trustworthiness of the Gospels. If it is really the case that Jesus spoke of Himself in the third person, and that He did so repeatedly and in such terms as eventually to convey to the circle of believers the double idea that the Kingdom of God was adapted to the needs of men, and that He Himself was the altogether unique Man indicated in prophecy and chosen to possess the Kingdom and administer its blessings, it cannot be said that our Gospels are on this matter really misleading.

If, on the other hand, we follow Lietzmann and Wellhausen, it is at the cost of a pretty severe shock to our sense of the trustworthiness of the Gospels. We commit what Wellhausen himself describes as a "Gewaltstreich," or *tour de force*. Briefly (but not, I hope, unfairly stated), the position of Lietzmann and Wellhausen is something like this: The natural and practically the only equivalent for $\acute{o} \nu\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ in Aramaic would be *Barnāsh*, or, in the *status emphaticus*, *Barnāshā'*. But it is clear from the usage of Aramaic, as

seen even in the Book of Daniel, and more indubitably in the Talmudic writings, that this phrase, even in the *status emphaticus*, is too indefinite in meaning to be used as a title. It means, according to the context, *a man, some one, any one, men generally*, but never, with any emphasis, *the particular man*. It is preposterous to suppose that Jesus habitually spoke of Himself in the third person as *Somebody*.

How did the misrepresentation, or, at least, the misunderstanding, of the Greek evangelists arise? There is a substratum of history in it. Jesus more than once (the Gospels themselves allow it) referred to the consummation of the Kingdom in terms of Daniel's vision (Dan. vii. 13). Without any special intention of referring to Himself,¹ He spoke of the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven. Believers of course applied the prophecy to Jesus Himself, and the phrase "Son of Man" appealed especially to Gentile converts with a tinge of Greek philosophical culture. It was believed almost

¹ Wellhausen notices, *e.g.*, that the form of the saying in Mark xiii. 26 is far from suggesting a personal reference.

from the first that Jesus had spoken of Himself latterly as the Son of Man of Daniel's vision. Out of this there grew easily the tradition, fostered by the humanism of Gentile believers, that Jesus habitually spoke of Himself in the third person as the Messianic Son of Man, even in connections that suggested anything but the Messianic glory. It became in fact the custom—we can see it at work in the structure of our Gospels¹—even where the oral or written tradition made Jesus say simply *I* or *me*—for an Evangelist to substitute *ὁ* or *τὸν υἱ. τ. ἀ.*

It is obvious that the main prop of this critical structure is a philological presupposition in reference to the Aramaic language—or a particular dialect or period of that language—which even one, who is, alas, only a layman in such matters, must be allowed to pronounce, on the showing of the authorities themselves, to be highly precarious.

I fully concede Holtzmann's² right to say that the questions raised or suggested by Wellhausen

¹ Cp., e.g., Mark viii. 27 with Matthew xvi. 14. Matthew has *τὸν υἱ. τ. ἀ.* where Mark has simply *με*.

² *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie*. Leipzig (Mohr), 1897.

and others in reference to the phrase *Son of Man* are among the most perplexing of all connected with the New Testament. But there are many reasons, quite apart from the trustworthiness of the Gospels, for refusing to cut the knot in the way proposed by Wellhausen. Let me briefly mention three of these, remarking that I attach decisive importance only to the third.

1. While it is highly probable, it is not certain that in His public discourses Jesus habitually used Aramaic. Preaching to the mixed populations of Galilee and the Decapolis, it is *probable* that He *sometimes*, and *possible* that He *habitually*, used Greek.¹ The efforts recently made by Dalman,² Arnold Meyer,³ and others, to give us the probable Aramaic equivalents of some of the

¹ The most strenuous advocate of the theory that Jesus used Greek in public discourse was the late Professor Roberts, of St. Andrews. The argument is conducted with great erudition, and may be studied, with profit perhaps, specially by those who too readily assume that the weight of probability is all on the other side. (*Greek the Language of Christ and His Apostles* (2nd ed.), Longmans, 1888; *A Short Proof that Greek was the Language of Christ* Gardner, Paisley, 1893.)

² *Die Worte Jesu*. Leipzig (J. C. Hinrich), 1898 (English Translation, T. & T. Clark).

³ *Die Muttersprache Jesu*. Mohr, 1896.

sayings of Jesus, are certainly interesting. But, even granting that they are occasionally successful in showing the halting or even misleading quality of the Greek equivalent of some proverb, we cannot be certain that it is not Jesus Himself who is responsible for the halt. Must not this ministering "Son of Man" have known something of the limitations imposed by the necessity of addressing men of foreign race and speech? It is perhaps possible to be satisfied in one's own mind that the Carpenter of Nazareth, who recognised that His mission was confined to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel," spoke habitually in private, and, where it was possible, in public, in the native tongue of His people, and still to admit it as only probable, and not "proven," that it is His translators (and not He Himself) who are responsible for the Greek form of His sayings which we find in our Gospels.

I agree, however, with Dr. Driver, that the supposition that Jesus may have used Greek is only the last fortress in the line of defence against the attack of Wellhausen. We are far from being under constraint to let the proposition pass, that

Jesus could not have said in Aramaic what is fairly rendered by *The Man*, or even *The Son of Man*.

2. Suppose we allow that, in the dialect of Aramaic which Jesus used, *Barnāshā'* was too indefinite an expression to convey the meaning, which the Greek evangelists intend, there was, according to Lietzmann himself, at least one other word, *Gabhrā'*, occurring no less than ten times in the document,¹ in which Lietzmann finds

¹ The document is known as the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum* (i.e., The Jerusalem Lectionary of the Gospels, used presumably in public worship by the Christians of Jerusalem). Lietzmann informs us that this document "speaks specially the Galilæan dialect" of Aramaic (*op. cit.*, p. 32), and that in it ܒܪܢܫܐ (*barnāshā'*) is, except in ten passages (all but one in the Gospel of Matthew), the standing equivalent for ὁ ἄνθρωπος of the Greek Gospels. In most of the ten passages there is no special need for the definite article, but of at least one of them—Matt. xxvi. 72, Peter's "I know not *the man*"—this cannot be said. Would Lietzmann say that in this instance Galilæan Aramaic could have said *barnāshā'* instead of *gabhrā'*? The ten passages are: Matt. xviii. 12, 23, xix. 5, 10, xx. 1, xxii. 2, xxv. 14, 24, xxvi. 72; Luke vi. 10. It seems to me that, if Lietzmann allows that *barnāshā'* could have been used at Matt. xxvi. 72, he goes a long way towards surrender of his case. Professor Schmidt, speaking of the usage in the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*, remarks that *gabhrā'* is used in the sense of *husband* in Matt. xix. 5, 10, adding that it occurs "also in Matt. xxvi. 72 as a synonym for *barnāshā'*" (*Encyc. Bibl.* p. 4707). See, however, Appendix C, II.

some of his principal illustrations of the dialect Jesus is supposed to have used, to which the same objection may, possibly, not apply. It is worth noting that the Hebrew equivalent of this word occurs in Job xvi. 21¹ as rhythmical parallel to *ben 'ādhām* (= son of man).

3. But I come to what I venture to consider, in this reference, the decisive point. It is allowed, on all hands, that the passage Daniel vii. 13 is, so to speak, the starting-point of the titular use of the phrase "Son of Man" that appears in our Gospels. That is to say, the expression is fundamentally a quotation. Let us suppose that Jesus thought of the text in Daniel, and came consciously so near it as to use the phrase *Barnāshā'* (cp. *kbbhar 'ēnāsh*, Dan. vii. 13); and let us go so far with the negative philologists as to suppose that, according to the usage of Aramaic in His day, the expression would not convey to anyone, who did not think of the passage in Daniel, either that Jesus was speaking of the Messiah, or referring to Himself, or indicating any one man in particular,—

¹ Unless, as Driver thinks probable ("Daniel," *Cambridge Bible*, p. 103, n. 2), we are to read here *וְכֵן וְכֵן*, i.e., "and between a man," etc.

it may still be the case that, in rendering the expression by $\acute{o} \dot{\iota}. \tau. \acute{a}$, the Greek evangelists were true both to the meaning of Jesus and to the standard of linguistic propriety that is applicable to the case. For, clearly, it lies in the situation, that, as regards the phrase *Barnāshā'*, the standard is not what might properly be said in the language, as it was in Jesus' day, but rather what might properly be said in the language of the Book of Daniel.

For my part, being in the hands of the *Docti*, I am disposed to admit at least the probability that, apart from a reference to the passage in Daniel, the expression *Barnāshā'* could not bear the very definite meaning intended in $\acute{o} \dot{\iota}. \tau. \acute{a}$. For, though none of the passages, which scholars like Lietzmann and Fiebig are able to cite, are earlier than, say, the middle of the second century A.D., it is obvious that the process whereby both the patronymic prefix *bar* and the emphatic suffix *ā* came to lose distinctive force was not accomplished in a day or a year. The undoubted usage of the second century A.D. is strong evidence for the *probable* usage of the first century A.D. But, on the other hand, it is weak evidence for the

probable usage of the second century B.C.—the time of the Book of Daniel. I am glad to be able to quote so high an authority as Dalman for the assertion that the usage of biblical Aramaic, as seen in the Book of Daniel, in regard to the expressions *man* and *son of man*, is essentially the same with the usage of biblical Hebrew. In particular (according to Dalman), the Aramaic *bar 'ēnāshā'* is precisely on the footing of the Hebrew *ben 'ādhām*. In both dialects the plural "sons of men" (Heb. *ben ha 'ādhām*), in the sense of *men generally* (the bearers of human nature), is of frequent occurrence;¹ but, apart from the special case of the Book of Ezekiel, where *ben 'ādhām* is the regular appellation of the prophet, the use of the singular is rare except in poetry, and it rarely stands by itself. It occurs as parallel to the synonymous *man*. Thus, "What is man that Thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that Thou visitest him?" (*'ēnōsh*, parallel

¹ *E.g.*, Genesis xi. 5, and frequently. For a Greek equivalent of this usage, cp. Mark iii. 28. Wellhausen suggests that this latter verse contains the original saying of which Matthew xii. 32 ("against the Son of Man") is a gloss due to misunderstanding of the Aramaic. (Art. in *Skizzen u. Vorarb.*, already referred to.)

ben 'ādhām), Ps. viii. 4; or, "God is not a man (*'ish*) that He should lie, or a son of man (*ben 'ādhām*) that He should repent," Num. xxiii. 19.

Everyone sees that "man" and "son of man" in such passages are synonymous. There is a reduplication of one idea, and yet most people will feel that the reduplication is more than a poetic form. If a Hebrew said of any individual in a half-poetical strain, "He is a man, yea, and a son of man," what he would intend to express would be that the individual in question possessed in a marked degree the characteristic of humanity, of which the speaker was thinking at the time. What the characteristic was would of course depend upon the context. If the context indicated, as in the 8th Psalm, a contrast between man and God, the characteristic of man would be weakness, insignificance, perishableness. But if the context pointed, as in Daniel vii. 13, to the contrast between man and wild beast, the characteristics of the individual, of whom *man* or *son of man* was predicated, would be such as gentleness, amenableness to the law of the right, humility, mercy. Now, it seems certainly to be the case

that, in later Aramaic, the prefix, denoting *son*, lost all force. *Barnāsh* or —*ā'* was written as one word. It occurred constantly in prose. It was the word—in actual usage almost the only word—employed to express the indefinite *a man*, or *any one* (Gr. *τις*). It had not of itself power to suggest, like the Hebrew *ben 'ādhām* in, say, the appellation of Ezekiel, an emphasis upon human characteristics.

Had this process of attenuation fairly commenced, or was it even accomplished by the time of the Book of Daniel? Was *Barnāsh* even then no more than the Greek *τις*? If I understand him aright, Dalman says *no*. The Book of Daniel was, he holds, written originally entirely in Hebrew,¹ and just as at vii. 4 the Hebrew would say כְּאִנָּשׁ (*ke 'ēnōsh*) where the Aramaic says כְּאִנָּשׁ (*ke 'ēnāsh*), so at vii. 13 the Hebrew would say כְּבֶן-אָדָם (*kbhen-'ādhām*) where the Aramaic says כְּבַר אִנָּשׁ (*kbhar 'ēnāsh*). That is to say, both in Hebrew and in biblical Aramaic "son of man" is poetical, but all the same it emphasises human characteristics.

¹ See above, p. 67, note 2.

Fiebig, on the other hand, gives a partially affirmative answer to our question. He argues that the *ke'ēnāsh* of Daniel vii. 4, and the *kbhar'ēnāsh* of Daniel vii. 13, prove that in the prose usage of Aramaic, in the time of the Book of Daniel, these expressions were exactly synonymous and interchangeable. But this is not to be understood as a concession to Wellhausen. On the contrary he argues that, if biblical Aramaic could say indifferently *'ēnāsh* and *bar'ēnāsh* for *a* man (with emphasis upon the human characteristics), the likelihood is that it could also say indifferently *'ēnāshā'* and *bar'ēnāshā'* for *the* man.

It would be hazardous for a layman to attempt to umpire between two such authorities, and fortunately it is not necessary. It is not a matter of any importance whether *ὁ ἄνθρωπος* or *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is the more exact rendering of the expression Jesus used. There is, perhaps, an element of unverifiable conjecture in both sets of assertion. On the one side, we may ask Dalman whether, apart from the special instance of the appellation of Ezekiel, he can quote a single case in biblical Hebrew where "son of man" is used alone—

apart from its parallel "man" or its equivalent.¹ And, on the other hand, we may grant to Fiebig the likelihood that in the prose Aramaic of the time of the Book of Daniel the expressions *'ēnāsh* and *bar 'ēnāsh* were synonymous and interchangeable, and still ask him whether this was altogether the case in writings of an exceptionally solemn and prophetic character.

Is it not likely that the longer patronymic form had, to the first readers of Daniel, just what it has to us English readers of to-day, a power, somewhat superior to that of the single word, *man*, of emphasising the human characteristics? Is it altogether far-fetched to point out that at verse 4 of Daniel vii. the human features

¹ In Ps. cxlvi. 3 the parallel to בְּרִי אֱנוֹשׁ (son of man) is נְדִיבִים (nobles). In his note on Daniel vii. 13 (*Cambridge Bible*, p. 102 f.), Driver gives fourteen examples from the Old Testament of the usage of Hebrew in reference to בְּרִי אֱנוֹשׁ (or בְּרִי אֱנוֹשׁ, Ps. cxliv. 3) in the singular. In not one of the fourteen does the patronymic form stand alone, *i.e.*, without a parallel word. This circumstance gives, it must be allowed, a certain impressiveness to the unique usage of "son of man" in Ezekiel, where it occurs over ninety times as the appellation of the prophet. There is no clear reference to Ezekiel in "son of man" in the Gospels, yet we may perhaps go so far with Weizsäcker as to say that the usage in Ezekiel could hardly be absent from the mind of Jesus.

of the lion that had eagle's wings are, in the nature of the case, external, and therefore comparatively unreal? The essential feature in the first four symbols is not *man*, but *beast*. But at verse 13 the one and essential feature is humanity. Whether or not we can agree with such high authorities as Hilgenfeld¹ and Riehm² in saying that the "one like unto a son of man" who rides on the clouds is to the author of Daniel a real individual, *i.e.*, the Messiah, and not merely a symbol of the final Kingdom, it cannot escape us that symbol and reality tend naturally to coincide in the mind of the writer; and, for a reader who came to this passage with the expectation of an individual Messiah—the Jewish exegesis of the passage, as seen in some of the later Apocalypses³ and in the words of our Lord Himself, proves it—the coincidence was inevitable.

In any case, whether or not we think that the writer means, at this point, to conduct his readers

¹ *Op. cit.*

² *Messianic Prophecy*. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1900. See long note, p. 193 ff.

³ Especially *Enoch* and *Fourth Ezra*. See *Enoch* xlvi. 1, xlviii. 2 ff., lxii. 5, 7, lxix. 27, 29, and *Fourth Ezra* xiii. 1 ff., xii. 32 ff.

out of the realm of symbolism to the conception of an individual glorious Man, who is the head of the final Kingdom given to the saints, it is clear that the distinguishing and all-comprehensive feature of the final Kingdom is *humanity*. The writer means his symbol, if it is only a symbol, to convey that the glory of the final Kingdom is the glory of humanity—humanity in touch with God and harmonised with itself and all the world through obedience to His law. Is it straining matters to suppose that the writer, as it were, lingered over his description of the final Figure? While the other figures had in their size and fierceness the semblance of power but not the reality, *this* one, so far as he himself was concerned, though he had all the reality had none of the semblance. He was in essence and origin only a *man*, yea a *son* of man.

The point, then, that I am disposed to emphasise in connection with this philological discussion is, that while laymen, like most of us, are bound to defer to the authority of specialists, so far as to accept their verdict on the meaning or force of an expression in the ordinary usage of a language,

we must allow place to considerations other than strictly philological, when we are dealing with the language of a great author like the writer of Daniel, or, let it be said with reverence, with the language of a great Personality like that of our Lord. We must remember that the thoughts of such persons — the remark applies of course pre-eminently to our Lord—move with freedom, not simply among the average conceptions of their own time, but also in the great conceptions and to some extent also in the language of the past. They are not slaves of the past, nor are they mere scholars. Their language is simple and clear, but there is often more in it than the average man is likely to comprehend. The something more is the suggestion and transformation of the past. They are scribes “instructed unto the Kingdom,” and they bring forth from their treasure an original blending of things “new and old” (Matt. xiii. 52).

A word, before passing from this question, on the support that is claimed for the negative verdict in the silence of the rest of the New Testament in regard to this title. If Jesus really

used the title, and used it so constantly as the Gospels represent, why is there no certain trace of it in the Apostolic Epistles? Why does no apostle refer frankly to Jesus as the "Son of Man," adding, for the convenience of readers, the explanatory parenthesis: *As we know our Lord called Himself.*

The absence of such a reference in the shorter writings hardly raises any question, but is it not surprising in the comparatively voluminous Paul? Lietzmann and Wellhausen say: Paul was not aware that Jesus used any such title. The explanation is certainly simple and sufficient. But is it true?

The silence of the Epistles is certainly at first sight surprising; and the surprise would be disconcerting, were not its spell broken by the reflection that the silence of the Evangelists themselves is not less remarkable. No Evangelist, speaking of Jesus, refers even once to Him as "the Son of Man." It is hardly possible that this entire absence from other lips of a title, which, unless the Gospels entirely mislead, was continually on the lips of Jesus, can be accidental.

It has been suggested in regard to the Evangelists, that they wish by their silence to give its due of impressiveness to the fact that the title is original to Jesus. It is His own form of self-designation. It contains, if we could only understand it, the secret of His peculiar self-consciousness. It is, in language used as early as 1838 by H. Weisse,¹ "*ein ungestempelter Begriff*" = "an unstamped conception," which can bear inscription only from one hand. It represents, to quote the same authority, a new and "second power of humanity," realised only by Jesus. As regards the Apostles, it has been suggested that their silence is due to dogmatic reasons. Jesus is to them the Son of God, revealed in power through His resurrection from the dead. He is to Paul the glorious Figure met on the road to Damascus.

These explanations are certainly suggestive and finely conceived; but perhaps it may be found, particularly in reference to the former, that something less will do. It may be sufficient

¹ *Die evangelische Geschichte*, 1838, vol. i. p. 319 ff. (reference given by Lietzmann).

to say, with Dalman,¹ that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου does not occur oftener than is necessary in the New Testament, for the simple reason that the New Testament is written in Greek. The phrase *Barnāshā'*, applied distinctively to Jesus, might have, to Jewish-Christian ears, a certain appropriateness, for its growth in that distinctive sense was easily traceable; and even where, through ignorance, the steps were not traced, the perception of the meaning would be quick and almost intuitive. No doubt, the stages of the growth could be made apparent in Greek also, but the phrase could hardly have in that language the same naturalness. A preacher to an audience mainly Gentile could hardly have used it without the awkwardness of an explanation, and one, so cosmopolitan and practical as the Apostle Paul, might well have hesitated to cumber his sermons or his writings with a phrase, whose natural meaning to Greek ears would be that the person referred to was the son of some particular man. This reason of abstinence would gather strength the more the Church progressed in time and space

¹ *Op. cit.*

away from the primitive Jewish community. If this explanation seems to us to hit the fact, we shall know what to make of the suggestion that "Son of Man" in the Gospels is practically the invention of Gentile believers and writers.

As regards the alleged ignorance, on the part of the writers of the Epistles, of any Messianic significance in the phrase "Son of Man," it may be pointed out that, at best, the allegation can have only the precarious worth of an argument from silence; and that, as we have just seen, a silence that may be otherwise sufficiently explained. But, apart from this, I am inclined to agree with those who maintain that the assertion of ignorance is, as regards Paul and the writer to the Hebrews, directly falsified through their Messianic use of Psalm viii.

The Psalm is cited at some length by the writer to the Hebrews (ii. 5 ff.), and is alluded to quite unmistakably¹ in 1 Cor. xv. 27 f. The peculiarity of both passages is, that a Messianic reference is assumed in the words that describe the glory, to

¹ If verse 25 is a reminiscence of Ps. cx. 1b, verse 27 is still more certainly a reminiscence of Ps. viii. 6b. Cp., also, Eph. i. 22.

which, in spite of his apparent insignificance, man has been exalted by the Creator. It is not always easy for us to see what it is in a particular passage that has suggested a Messianic reference to a New Testament writer. Probably we sometimes do the writer a wrong when we suppose him to have a theory of some passage from which he cites a phrase. It is the isolated phrase, not the entire passage, that is to him Messianic in meaning, and therefore in Divine intention. But, in this case, the writer to the Hebrews quotes the Messianic passage in full. He has the whole passage clearly in view, and he deliberately assumes that it is Messianic. It seems to me we are bound to account for so extraordinary a judgment. What could have led this polished and logical writer to suppose that the Psalmist was thinking of anything more than the place of man in the scheme of creation? The answer is: the phrase "son of man." Nothing could prevent the writer from seeing, just as clearly as we do, that the first reference of the passage is to man as such—the ordinary bearer of human nature. But then the Psalmist speaks not only

of "men," he refers also to "the Son of Man," and He, we know (so argues the apostolic writer), was the Lord Jesus. In presence of *this* reference, the inferior reference disappears from the writer's mind.

II. To make up our minds that Jesus called Himself the "Son of Man," meaning in His own mind that He was the Figure in Daniel's vision, to whom, on behalf of the saints, the final Kingdom was given, does not settle the question, whether He used the title so frequently as the Gospels represent. We have still to ask, Did He use the title from the first? Did He do it freely before disciples and multitude alike? Was He generally, or even partially, understood to be claiming the Messiahship? Did He use the title, as the Gospels represent, in connections that suggest the very reverse of the Messianic glory, pointing to a career of humiliation, suffering, and death?

This is a formidable array of difficult and closely inter-connected questions. It may be well to indicate what seems to me the right starting-point of an endeavour to answer them.

I consider it best to start from the general impression regarding this title "Son of Man," which everyone who reads the Gospels, on the assumption that they are in the main true, carries away from them. This impression is, I think, two-fold—(1) Jesus had a striking way of referring to Himself, in the third person, as the Son of Man. It impressed His hearers, and was meant to impress them. It was intended as a means of education, especially for His disciples. (2) The title was mysterious as well as suggestive. It meant more to Jesus than it could mean even to the disciples. The disciples did not complain of the mystery. It belonged to the situation. The mystery of the Master's speech was part of the mystery of Himself.

I start from this general impression, not because I think it corresponds exactly with the facts. On the contrary, it is an impression which, as may appear by and by, needs to be very considerably modified. Yet I start from it, because I think it impossible that it can be entirely misleading. The spirit of the Master is in the records of the disciples. These surprise, they

awaken reflection, they carry beyond depth, but they do not mislead. Let it be observed that it is no part of this first general impression that, in calling Himself *Son of Man*, Jesus was *ipso facto* proclaiming Himself to be the Messiah. This arises partly from the fact, that we are expressly told that Jesus did not announce Himself to be the Messiah at all till near the close of His ministry. He did not announce it even to the disciples. He drew it from the depths of their own consciousness before the last months. It arises also from the fact that, not even to this day, is the mind of the general reader familiar with the equation: The "Son of Man" = the "Messiah." We are all familiar with the equation: The "Son of David" = the "Messiah." We share this familiarity with the multitude who heard Jesus in Galilee and Judæa. But we share also with them ignorance of anything peculiarly Messianic in the phrase "Son of Man."

I agree, at least partly, with those who say that this phrase was not a current designation of the Messiah. It seems to me that all, who do

not wish to part company with the Evangelists, must be of this opinion. All the Synoptists agree that Jesus did not directly mention His Messiahship to the disciples till the scene at Cæsarea Philippi, and that then He charged them to tell no man that He was "the Christ." On the other hand, they represent Jesus as calling Himself "Son of Man" practically at all times and to all ears. I can see no reason to doubt that both these representations correspond with the facts; and I infer from them that, where Jesus used the phrase, it was by no means inevitable for the average man to suppose that He meant thereby to proclaim Himself the Messiah.

Some years ago, almost simultaneously with the publication of Lietzmann's book, I committed myself in print to the opinion that, while the general populace did not associate Messiahship with the phrase "Son of Man," the same could probably not be said of the learned class, represented in the Gospels by the Scribes and Pharisees. I also hazarded the opinion that the view of Dr. Charles, according to which the Book

of Similitudes¹ in the cycle of Apocalypses bearing the name of *Enoch*, including the passages where the Messiah appears with the title "Son of Man," is of pre-Christian origin, is probably correct. I cannot say that I have learnt anything from the philological discussion that has happened in the interval, that inclines me to depart from these opinions. But I do not consider that a judgment in the one way or the other, as to either of these matters, need affect our view of the motive or effect of Jesus' use of the title. It is wholly probable that the habit of identifying the Figure of Daniel's vision with the Messiah-to-come, and of referring to Him in some abbreviated phrase like "*the* or *that* Son of Man,"²

¹ So the section of *Enoch* including chapters xxxvi.-lxx. is usually called. For a brief account of the post-canonical Jewish Messianic literature, see the closing chapter of my *Times of Christ* (T. & T. Clark)—especially the footnote, p. 140ff., summarising the argument against the theory that the "Son of Man" passages in the *Book of Similitudes* are due to Christian interpolation. An exhaustive list of modern books, and editions of Jewish documents, bearing specially on the Messianic Hope, will be found in the second English edition of Riehm's *Messianic Prophecy* (T. & T. Clark, 1900). See especially, in the last-named work, Appendix F.

² Those, who wish to investigate this point, would do well to consult two articles of Prof. Schmiedel, of Zürich, *in re* "Son of

had by the time of our Lord long been formed among Jewish scholars. But the philological discussion, as conducted especially by Fiebig, seems to me to bring out pretty clearly the result that the mere phrase *Barnāshā'* would not, in many of the connections in which it may have been used by Jesus, and in some of those in which it is actually attested to have been used, even to scholarly ears at all necessarily, or even naturally, suggest a literary reference to the Book of

Man," in the *Protestantische Monatshefte* for July and August, 1898. Schmiedel suggests that the variation between the demonstratives *the* and *that*, as applied to the Figure called "Son of Man" in the Book of Similitudes, may indicate that this book was written at a time when the practice of referring to the Figure in Dan. vii. 13, by means of the brief formula, "The Son of Man," had hardly become a habit. The fact that *Enoch*, written doubtless originally in Aramaic, is extant, chiefly, in an Ethiopic Version, makes it difficult to reach precise knowledge on the point. The latter of Schmiedel's two articles has a certain historic interest, in the fact that it was written chiefly to combat the view Wellhausen had expressed, in the second edition of his *Israel. u. Jüd. Gesch.*, to the effect that Jesus had called Himself *The Man* in the sense that "He thought nothing human foreign to Himself." Even in the second edition Wellhausen denied that the title had anything to do with Jewish Messianism; but Schmiedel wrote his article in ignorance of the fact that, in the third edition of his *Gesch.*, Wellhausen had departed even from the humanistic view of "Son of Man" and gone over to the negations of Lietzmann.

Daniel, or any claim on the part of the speaker to be the Messiah.

From an exhaustive study and citation of relevant passages, in all the available Aramaic documents, Fiebig shows that, in the ordinary usage of Aramaic, since at least as early as the second century A.D., the phrases *Barnāsh* and the determinate *Barnāshā'* were practically on the same footing. Each might mean indifferently, according to the context, *a man, the man, men generally, some one, any one*. If this result is sound, and if, as all the Aramaic scholars seem to agree, the equivalent of *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* must have been *Barnāshā'* (or, conceivably, just *Barnāsh*), a very suggestive light is thrown upon the phenomena of our Gospels. I have said that even the average English reader gets the impression of something ambiguous and half-hidden as well as instructively suggestive in the title "Son of Man," and that an impression so general and natural can hardly be misleading. Did not Jesus really wish to educate all susceptible souls in the appreciation of His person and aims? He Himself regarded the Messiahship, at least in the

broad lines in which it seemed to be depicted in the Psalms and Prophets, as the Divinely given interpreter of His office, career, and destiny. He was the Messiah—the Prophet, the King, even the Priest who was to come. But the Gospels clearly attest that He was unwilling to declare Himself as the Christ. The necessity for reticence lay in the situation. He did not wish to encourage false hopes, but He did wish to educate all who might be responsive in true ones. If the Gospels are veracious, there must have been a time, when He sought for some descriptive phrase, which had not, in itself for ordinary ears, any Messianic associations, but which yet might be large enough to reflect the total Messianic idea in the counsel and word of God. If the Gospels are veracious, He found that phrase in the equivalent in His own language for "Son of Man." If the Aramaic scholars are right, where they speak with one voice, that equivalent was *Barnāshā'*.

I think we may ask, with some confidence of having got hold of this perplexing matter by the right end, Could He have chosen any word that more exactly suited the situation?

In particular, at present, we may notice that the phrase exactly suits the necessity of not declaring His Messiahship, and yet of containing points of contact with Scriptural words and ideas. Suppose we experiment for a little with this key in the actual locks of some Gospel passages.

Wellhausen and Lietzmann hold that the supposed habit of Jesus of speaking of Himself as the Son of Man is partly due to a misunderstanding of the Greek translators of Jesus' words. In confirmation of their views, they appeal particularly to two passages, both of which are certainly well adapted to their purpose. The one is Mark ii. 27 f. Suppose that Jesus said, "The Sabbath was made for *barnāsh*, therefore *barnāsh* is lord of the Sabbath," not only a regard for language but a regard for logic would require us to translate, "The Sabbath was made for *man*, therefore *man* is lord of the Sabbath." The reason that led our Evangelists to change *man* in the second clause to *Son of Man* would be obvious enough. Was it credible that Jesus could have used words capable of meaning that

any man had the right to set aside the Sabbath law?

The other passage is Mark ii. 1 ff., and the parallel in Matthew ix. 2 ff. Was it not clearly the purpose of Jesus to show the Pharisees, who had asked, *Who can forgive sins but God only?* that, in certain circumstances (not specified), even a man on earth could do the same? Evidently the multitude, according to Matthew, understood His words in this way: "They were afraid, and glorified God, which had given such power *unto men*" (Matt. ix. 8). It so happens that in Mark's Gospel, which, on our hypothesis, is, generally speaking, more strictly chronological than the other two, these two passages are the only ones in which "Son of Man" occurs before the record of the scene at Cæsarea Philippi.

Anyone who holds so strongly as does, *e.g.*, Baldensperger,¹ that "Son of Man" was in the

¹ *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit.* 2nd ed., Strassburg (Heitz u. Mündel), 1892. The first volume of a wholly revised and greatly enlarged edition of this important work appeared this year (1903). Since this Lecture was written, I have had the opportunity of observing that, at p. 143 (footnote), the author modifies his formerly expressed

time of our Lord a current designation of the Messiah, is in regard to these passages shut up to two alternatives. Either they are due to misunderstanding arising in the very plausible way just explained, or the incidents narrated are chronologically misplaced. Jesus could not, before the scene at Cæsarea Philippi, have used words, even in the hearing of the disciples,—let alone a general audience including, according to Luke, Pharisees and Scribes “out of every village of Galilee and Judæa and Jerusalem” (Luke v. 17),—tantamount to a declaration of His Messiahship.

It may be allowed that neither of these alternatives is “violent.” On the one hand, it was characteristic of Jesus to say paradoxical things, and, on the other, no modern scholar pins his faith to any particular view of the order of events in the ministry of Jesus. If these were

opinion as to the currency of “Son of Man” as a Messianic title. He admits that the spontaneous use of the expression was confined to “the narrower apocalyptic circles,” and that, while the usage found its way into wider Jewish circles, it had there only a limited circulation, and, after the appropriation of the title by the Christians, no circulation at all.

the only passages that could occasion difficulty to Baldensperger on the one side or Wellhausen on the other, I should be disposed to say that each of these critics had a real hold of the truth in this matter, though each approached it in his own way, and each was wrong in neglecting the view of the other.

I should be quite willing to concede to Wellhausen that the primary thought in the one passage is that human need overrides all particular rules of Sabbath observance, and that the primary thought in the other passage is that the right to forgive is not possessed exclusively by God in heaven, but may in certain circumstances be exercised by a man on earth; and I should also concede to Baldensperger that in both cases there was in Jesus' own mind a distinct reference to the Messianic Son of Man, and also that some suspicion of that reference was possible, or even probable, in the case of some of the Scribes. But it is obvious that the keys which these scholars bring to this problem, while they fit the locks of some passages, are quite useless in regard to others. What is

Wellhausen to do with the passages where the meaning *man* (in general) does not fit the context, "Foxes have holes," etc. (Matt. viii. 20), "John came neither eating nor drinking," etc. (xi. 19)? Wellhausen admits the personal reference in such passages, but does not seem to see how far the admission carries him in the direction of the position he rejects. On the other hand, what is Baldensperger to do with the fact that there is not the slightest hint in the Gospels that Jesus (until just the end) refrained from using the designation "Son of Man" in public? Rather they give, inevitably, the impression that Jesus used the title freely from the first and irrespective of His audience.

For my own part, I am satisfied that this impression corresponds with the facts, so far as correspondence is possible. *So far as correspondence is possible*—for, just owing to the fact that we have the words of Jesus in Greek, and not in His native Aramaic, a perfect correspondence is, in this particular case, peculiarly impossible. We may add that it is unnecessary and undesirable. I mean specially that, while

the Greek, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, is entirely true to the mind of Jesus, whose thought was always directed to the Chosen One of God to whom the final Kingdom should be given (for whom, therefore, *Barnāshā'* had the force suggested in our Gospels of a Divinely revealed title), it could not be true to the average understanding, or want of understanding, of the term, on the part of His audience.

I learn from the Aramaic scholars, that *Barnāshā'* (and, referring especially to Fiebig's labours, and speaking as a mere layman, I confess that the evidence appears to me overwhelming) was an indefinite and ambiguous expression, not capable in itself of suggesting or conveying that the speaker referred to himself. There are, as we have seen, some passages where the personal reference in the understanding of the hearer was inevitable; and there are others, like "*Barnāshā'* is Lord of the Sabbath,"¹ where, while perhaps natural enough, it is by no means

¹ Whether uttered in connection with a transgression of the Sabbath conventions on the part of the disciples, or rather, as has been suggested, in connection with a similar transgression on Jesus' own part. Cp. the parallel, Luke vi. 5.

inevitable. Also there are sayings, especially those which refer clearly to the last time, where the understanding of a Messianic reference, at least on the part of the literary class among Jesus' hearers, was, to say the least, possible; but there is perhaps only one saying—that in which, before the Sanhedrin, He quoted the actual words of Daniel vii. 13—in which such an understanding was inevitable. It has, moreover, to be remembered that many of the sayings are not apocalyptic, and contain no reference to the Messianic glory, or even to the final state in general.

Take, *e.g.*, the saying already referred to, "Foxes have holes," etc. Matthew tells us that Jesus said these words to a Scribe. He was perhaps one of those accessible Scribes, to another of whom Jesus said that he was not far from the Kingdom of Heaven. The Scribe could have no doubt that Jesus was speaking of Himself. Also, he must have felt, in a remarkable degree, the attraction of Jesus' personality. Accustomed to teach, he felt that no man ever taught like this man. Yet it is by no means

certain, or even perhaps likely, that Jesus' speaking of Himself in the third person, and saying *Barnāshā'*, led the Scribe to the idea that He was claiming to be the Messiah.

Let me now refer to a class of passages in which, not the multitude or the learned class, but simply the disciples, are concerned, and in which the ambiguity of the expression *Barnāshā'* appears in a somewhat different light. The time is just after the scene at Cæsarea Philippi. The disciples know by this time, we may surely suppose, the difference between the *Barnāshā'*, who may be anybody, and the *Barnāshā'*, who was only Jesus Himself. But they have not hitherto associated anything Messianic with this phrase. Now, for the first time, the intention of Jesus in His use of the phrase comes home to them. It is part of a conviction which Jesus Himself stamps as a Divine revelation, having first drawn it from their hearts that the *Barnāshā'* of His constant speech is none other than the "one like unto a *bar 'ēnāsh*," whom Daniel saw coming with the clouds of heaven (Daniel vii. 13). For the moment their sense of discouragement

vanishes. The King is about to take off the veil and appear in His glory.

But just at this point He begins to utter with definiteness the prophecy of His shameful sufferings and death. Three times, with growing definiteness, He speaks of the betrayal, ignominy, and death of the "Son of Man." *As* often, we read words to the effect that the sayings are to the disciples unintelligible. *Now*, suppose for a moment that Jesus had never spoken of Himself in the third person; suppose, *i.e.*, He had not adopted a style of speech, which had, as we might say, unconsciously educated the disciples in the idea that He was another person from what He seemed, even the Chosen One of God to whom belonged the Kingdom and the glory; suppose He had been to them only Jesus of Nazareth, a Prophet "mighty in word and deed," and also a beloved Master, taking them further along the lines of John the Baptist, but just speaking of Himself, like other prophets, as *I* or *me*; and suppose at this crisis He had said to them, "I have it from God that I am about to be betrayed into the hands of the

Sanhedrin and Pontius Pilate, and that ignominy and death await me which yet I shall survive,"—would it have been possible for us, in that case, to accept, as at all like the truth, the statement of the Evangelists that the saying was to the disciples unintelligible? What was there inconceivable in the idea that their Master would share the fate of many a prophet before Him and of John the Baptist in His own day?

Clearly, the amazing thing was, not that such an oracle should be given about a holy prophet and a beloved Master, but that it should be given about the glorious and heavenly "Son of Man." For a moment, I venture to think, the question crossed their mind—the indefiniteness of the expression *Barnāshā'* made it the more possible: Does He mean that, after all, He is not the Messiah? Is this why He speaks in the third person—Himself one person, the Son of Man who is to come with the clouds another person? They were tossed in amazement from one horn to the other of this dilemma—the glorious Son of Man suffering and dying, Jesus *not* that Son of Man. In such a state of the case it is

certainly not putting it strongly, when one Evangelist says, "They *understood* not the saying, and were afraid to ask Him" (Mark ix. 32); and again, "They were amazed" (Mark x. 32); and another adds, "It was hid from them" (Luke ix. 45).

Our view, then, is that the equivalent of "Son of Man" in our Gospels was an indefinite expression, having in itself no power to convey either that the speaker referred to himself or that he meant the Messiah. When it was used in an obviously apocalyptic connection, as, *e.g.*, in the saying about the Son of Man coming in the glory of His Father with the angels, it would inevitably suggest to the average Jewish hearer the Messianic Personage, *i.e.*, one appointed by Jehovah to do His work of judgment in the earth and bring in the Kingdom, and would probably also suggest Daniel vii. 13. But it would by no means necessarily suggest that the person so speaking was himself claiming to be the Messiah. Apart from the private discourses of Jesus to the disciples after the catechising at Cæsarea Philippi, there is, I believe, only one saying in the Gospels

where the three associations—that with Jesus Himself, that with the Messiah, and that with the Son of Man in Daniel—would for the hearers of Jesus inevitably coincide. I mean the passage in which, in answer to Caiaphas, He acknowledged that He was "the Christ," and said, "Ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven."

If this is a correct view of the facts, it is clear that enquiry as to *when* Jesus *began* to use the expression *Son of Man*, or as to how *often* He used it, is superfluous. We have every right to take our stand on the natural supposition that He used it as freely, frequently, and habitually as the Gospels represent.

III. There still remain to us, at least formally, the questions :

A. Why did Jesus employ this objective mode of speech?

B. What did He mean by "Son of Man"?

A. The former question has two sides—the one relating to Jesus Himself, the other to the disciples.

1. Why did Jesus speak of His Messiahship

as if it were a thing outside of Himself? Why, *e.g.*, did He not say simply *I* or *me* in all cases where He wished His hearers to understand that He meant Himself, but did not wish or expect that they should understand Him to mean the Messiah?

The answer I venture to give is, that in a very real sense Jesus habitually placed His Messiahship outside the sphere of His ordinary human self-consciousness. If the fact of the Messiah in Jesus came as a revelation from the Father to His disciples, it does not seem to be saying anything more than is said in the story of His baptism to affirm that it was equally a revelation to Himself. It was a voice from heaven that said to Him—partly in the words of the 2nd Psalm—"Thou art My Son, the Beloved, in whom I am well pleased." He had a vision of the Spirit of God descending upon Himself.

His calling, therefore, did not proceed from a consciousness of powers born with Him and natural to His humanity. It came from a consciousness of special power lent to His human nature, and constituting, in the first instance, a

temptation to it. In the crisis of the Temptation the power obtained the right place in His life, through the conviction that what came so directly from God was to be used only according to His specially revealed will. If it was true even of godly men in general that they "lived" by every word that came from the mouth of God, it was singularly true of the chosen "Son of Man." His Messiahship was, indeed, to Jesus the most real thing in the universe. It included all duty and destiny, but it was also a Divine mystery, a matter of faith. The details of it could not be anticipated. They must be learnt on the road of revelation. The Son of Man must go as it was written of Him in the word that spoke in the past, and spoke still. He must walk by faith, and learn obedience even through suffering. It would be easy to offend in the effort to report our Lord's own sense of His calling, but it is surely not going beyond the most authoritative record we possess to say that He distinguished, to a certain degree, between Jesus of Nazareth and the Son of Man who was to come with the clouds.

It could never be an ordinary thing, however habitual to His consciousness, that He was the Man to whom should be given the final and everlasting Kingdom. He, who should in His thought and faith habitually unite these opposites, must, in the first instance, as habitually do justice to their difference. Hence this fact in His life, and this witness in His biography, of the constant presence to His spirit of a will, a way, a destiny other than His own—something that was His and yet not His, because so purely and continuously a gift and revelation of God. Is it too subtle to suggest that the phrase He uses—"Son of Man," taken in its Scriptural connections (especially Dan. vii. 13)—is peculiarly suited to express both the union and the separation of these two things,—ordinary humanity and supernatural calling?¹ Jesus knows Himself to belong to humanity, yet to Him, even as Son of Man,

¹ I am disposed to agree with those, who find in the appellation "Son of man," applied to Ezekiel, the expression of essentially the same paradox. The elevation is indefinitely lower and the range of vision indefinitely more contracted, but the central truth is the same. See especially Ezek. ii. 1 f., and the highly instructive summary of the opinions of numerous learned men as to the meaning of "Son of Man" in Driver's article in *Hastings' Dictionary*.

there is given a dignity and destiny more than human.

2. We can hardly be wrong in supposing that part of the motive of the objective habit of speech, which we are considering, lay in the desire of Jesus to educate the disciples. If the Messiahship was something in reference to which He must Himself take the reverential attitude of a learner, it was surely in keeping with this that He realised the necessity of guarding His disciples against casual and insufficient ideas of it.

I am disposed to trace to real reminiscence the impression we get from the Fourth Gospel, that those, who attached themselves to Jesus from the circle of John the Baptist, did so with the conviction and confession that He was "Son of God" and "King of Israel." These were undoubtedly popular and recognised titles of the Messiah, and were, on the lips of the people, of precisely the same import as the title "Son of David," which, according to the Synoptists,¹ Jesus was at pains to reject for reasons which were confounding, if not convincing, to the Scribes. While He could

¹ Matt. xxii. 41 ff.; Mark xii. 35 ff.; Luke xx. 41 ff.

not expressly reject "Son of God," or even "King of Israel," it is, perhaps, a fair inference from the Synoptics that He did not encourage the disciples, any more than He did the demoniacs, in the use of even the former. The Messiahship was His own secret and His Father's. His desire was to impart it to the disciples in the way that would obtain for it a worthy reception, or, at any rate, a secure lodging in their minds. The evidence of His reserve in regard to the use of popular titles is quite distinct in the Synoptic Gospels, and we may perhaps express the motive of it in terms borrowed from the Fourth Gospel. It was a special instance of His sanctifying Himself, that the disciples also might be sanctified in truth. The method implied in this reserve was successful. If we cannot say that the disciples received the truth of Jesus' Messiahship "worthily," in the sense that it remained with them disentangled from all misconception, it is still certain that, when it came to them, it came to stay. It remained in *spite of* misconception and the offence of the Cross.

B. Is it possible at this time of day, after

much speech on the matter from many mighty men, to say anything that will really help us to understand what Jesus meant by calling Himself the "Son of Man"? There is a certain attractive capaciousness in the suggestion of an "ungestempelter Begriff." It may be inevitable, and therefore permissible, for those to whom Jesus Christ is to-day the ever-living power of God, to find in the title "Son of Man" the expression of His total significance in history and individual experience. We may, perhaps, even say that the title was to Jesus Himself an "ungestempelter Begriff," on which, in His earthly life, He was only beginning to stamp the impression of Himself. On the other hand, such capaciousness has its dangers. There is apt to be room in it for everything but clear thought. We are bound, surely, to assume that, when Jesus chose to designate Himself by this title, it had to His own mind the edge of a definite interest and meaning. There was a thought that had a definite starting-point, and proceeded in a definite direction in a line of progress that may be assumed to be traceable.

Let me close with a word—(1) On the starting-point ; (2) on the line of progress.

1. Though great authorities can be quoted to the contrary, I venture to think it not open to serious question that the starting-point was Daniel vii. 13, "I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like a son of man came in the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before Him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a Kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him : his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his Kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." In confessing His Messiahship before the Sanhedrin, Jesus partially quoted these words ; and in more than a dozen other passages in the Gospels, where He speaks of the final judgment, or generally of the last things, the general reference to the Canonical Apocalypse is, perhaps, as unmistakable.

Now, Daniel vii. 13f. is the only passage, which there is any evidence that Jesus had expressly in mind when He used the title

"Son of Man." We are not asking at present what Jesus *may* have put into the conception "Son of Man," or even what He did actually put into it in process of time. We are asking only: What, for certain, did He put into it, and what did He start with? With all respect for investigators like Keim and Weizsäcker, it seems to me only a darkening of counsel to introduce, at this stage, any other reference than to the passage in Daniel, in its main suggestion and meaning. It is altogether likely that the 8th Psalm (Keim) and the appellation "Son of Man" given to Ezekiel (Weizsäcker) frequently came to His mind. They would serve to link into one chain of Divine truth and purpose the passage in Daniel and the whole series of passages, particularly in the Psalms and in Deutero-Isaiah, which emphasised the weakness of flesh and blood and spoke of the sufferings of the righteous "Servant" of Jehovah, who was also His "Son."

Yet it is not the weakness of a mere "son of man," but the transcendent glory and everlasting dominion of *the* Son of Man of the last

days, who reigns in the power of righteousness, that dominate the vision and thought of Jesus. His Messiahship is a hope, not a literal possession. It is a thing primarily of God's appointment for Him, and only secondarily and *therefore* of His own choice for Himself. There is not, even for Him, any glory in human weakness and suffering, as such. The glory lies in what is to follow. Only, what is to follow is just that which to His faith is most real.

2. But, while the vision in Daniel supplied the starting-point and dominant factor of the thought of Jesus, it does not follow, and it is not the fact, that He was confined either to or by the letter of the representation in that book. It needs no very critical eye to see that the letter of Daniel and the letter of our Lord's eschatological sayings in the Gospels do not coincide. Thus, in Daniel, *the* Son of Man does not exist at all, but only "one like unto α son of man," who does not appear to be a living individual, but only a symbolic representation of the "Saints of the Most High," *i.e.*, the law-abiding Jews, who receive the everlasting Kingdom when the kingdoms of brute force, with

all their "abominations of desolation," have passed away.

It is not, indeed, necessary to suppose—there is to my mind strong evidence to the contrary—that the transformation of the symbol to a living person is, in the form of it, original to Jesus. It is probable that Jewish commentators had already found the individual Messiah in their Canonical Apocalypse. But, if we may judge from the *Son of Man* passages in the *Book of Similitudes* and the analogous passage in *Fourth Ezra* (chap. xiii.), the Messianic Son of Man of the rabbinical conception was not more, but rather less, living than the symbolic Figure in Daniel. He may be dressed faultlessly in garments borrowed from Canonical Scriptures, but withal He is a mere lay figure with functions chiefly formal and passive. Jesus has the same fondness for the Old Testament, but with Him the garments of Old Testament phrase are chosen with discrimination. They are enlarged or contracted according to need, and fit a living person. He is entirely faithful to the great thoughts of Scripture, and even to their general form. "It is written" is

always much to Him, but the mere letter of what is written does not trouble Him.

One sees this both in what He adds to the representation in Daniel, and in what He subtracts from it. The vision of the Seer in Daniel seems to be that of a final Kingdom, in which law-abiding Jews exercise an eternal but righteous and merciful dominion over all other peoples. Jesus spoke, indeed, of the Jews as the children of the Kingdom, but He never taught that either membership or rule in it would be confined to them. The true heirs of the Kingdom might come from all quarters of heaven, and the children might be shut out.

Again, in Daniel, the human Figure (in the interpretation the "Saints of the Most High") simply receives the Kingdom. It is, perhaps, natural that in the dream-world of Apocalypse the human agents should appear mainly in an attitude of passivity. Both for Himself and His followers Jesus uses with sincerity the language of passivity. All power is "given" to Himself. It is His Father's good pleasure to "give" His little flock the Kingdom. But, even where it

would have been most natural for Him simply to quote *verbatim* the language of written Apocalypse, He rarely, if ever, does so. Thus the Son of Man in Daniel displays activity merely in coming with the clouds of heaven. He is a mere wonder. He is brought to the Ancient of Days, and is given dominion, and that is the end. The Son of Man, in Jesus, has the reality, not the mere semblance, of power. He has angels whom He sends forth from the four winds of heaven, to gather in the peoples to judgment. His own voice wakes the dead. He is Himself Advocate or else Accuser, before God, of the assembled multitudes; and, when the case is finished, the Accuser and Advocate becomes the Judge, and the Judge becomes the King.¹

One has only to read the 25th chapter of Matthew to see how far the thought of Jesus travels from the scenery of Jewish Apocalypse. The judgment, in Jesus' teaching, is no mere

¹ Cf. especially Matt. xiii. 41, xxiv. 30 f., xxv. 31 ff., x. 32 f. The conception of the Son of Man calling the dead to judgment appears formally only in John (see John v. 27 ff.), but it is entirely in line with the apocalyptic utterances in the Synoptics, and is modelled closely on Daniel xii. 2.

gorgeous vindication of supreme but undefined rights vested in a chosen people; it is rather the emphasis of truths all men know. The Seer of the Gospels faces an audience, and searches the conscience of men and women He knows. The audience feels that, whoever the "Son of Man" may be, He will not judge otherwise than Jesus of Nazareth. By the distance that separates one, who is a mere wandering teacher, despised and disliked by the authorities, and with a mere handful of faithful followers, from One who rides upon the clouds and summons the nations to judgment, we may measure the originality of the Person who could not only think these two in one, but live upon the faith that they were by God's will one in Himself.

We may define the faith more closely. Jesus did not rest in a vague belief that a humble or earthly lot befitted the chosen Saviour of God's poor ones. He came to believe and to teach that the Messiah could save His people, only through the extreme suffering of rejection and death at the hands of His nation and the Gentiles.

The "Son of Man," therefore, in the mature mind of Jesus, is the Person who unites a career of utmost service and suffering with a sure prospect of transcendent glory. And herein we touch at once the depth and the height of His originality. On the negative side of things nothing is more certain in our information regarding Jewish conceptions of the Messiah, in or near the time of our Lord, than that they did not include the idea that He should suffer vicariously for the sins of His people. It is no mere rhetoric to say that, from the apostolic period to the present day, the Cross has been to the Jews a stumbling-block.

No doubt, in the early Christian centuries, one finds in Jewish circles—elicited probably by controversy with Christians—the idea of a dying Messiah, and even the idea of merit available for others in the righteous Sufferer. But a glance at the passages, where these ideas appear, shows the fallaciousness of the hope of finding in them points of contact with Christian doctrine. Thus in *Fourth Ezra* (circa 70 A.D.) the Messiah dies, but His death is only an incident in an eschatological programme, which assigned to

the Messiah no other function than that of living for 400 years with the godly previous to a final judgment executed by Jehovah Himself.

Again, the *Targum of Jonathan* (fourth century A.D.), perhaps the most authoritative document of what may be called Patristic Judaism, admits a reference to the Messiah in Isaiah liii., but carefully excludes from the scope of the reference what would be to Christians just the most relevant passages.¹

But, apart from Jewish documents, our Synoptic Gospels alone offer the most satisfactory proof that, so far as even the best of His own contemporaries were concerned, the idea that the Messianic Son of Man should give His life a ransom for many was absolutely original to Jesus, and His own secret, until He began, with so

¹ For the details, see especially Dalman's brochure, *Jesaja 53 erörtert*, 2nd ed., 56 pp. Leipzig : Faber, 1891. The author deals throughout with the rabbinical exegesis. See also Dr. G. A. Smith's "Isaiah" in the *Expositor's Bible*, vol. ii. p. 281, note—especially the reference to Bredenkamp. The latter quotes a Rabbi of the sixteenth century as saying, with reference to Isa. liii. : "Our Masters have, with one voice, held as established, and handed down, that here it is 'King Messiah,' who is spoken of." Cp., also, Weber's *Jüdische Theologie*, 2nd ed., § 63, p. 292 ff. Dörffling u. Franke, Leipzig, 1897.

indifferent success, to make it plain at Cæsarea Philippi. Those, who cling to the idea that the Fourth Gospel is as literally true to history as the Synoptics, have, in this reference, their own difficulties with the Johannine testimony—that two of His first disciples were introduced to Jesus as the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. For us it may be sufficient to say that this testimony must be interpreted¹ in harmony with the undoubted and indubitable

¹ There seems to be no good reason, why such an interpretation, as that suggested long ago by the late distinguished author of *Ecce Homo*, should not be accepted. John was looking for the Messiah. Among the crowds, who came to the baptism of repentance, was One unlike all the others—an Innocent One among the guilty. It is hardly conceivable that John should have failed to see anything unique in Jesus at their short but solemn meeting, or that he said nothing memorable about it to his own disciples. If he could describe *himself* from the pages of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. xl. 3), why might he not also from the same source (Isa. liii. 7) record his impression of *Jesus*? It is surely credible that one, whom Jesus characterised as "more than a prophet," should throw off a couple of phrases ("Lamb of God" and "bearing sins") suggested by Scriptures, that were constantly in his mind, and that these phrases should suit the facts regarding Jesus' Person and Office, in ways of which the speaker himself was not conscious. One may believe all this, however, and still hold that there is an idealising element, in the portrayal of the Baptist in the Gospel of John, that is absent from the Synoptics. See Mr. Morris Stewart's *Temptation of Jesus*, p. 213 ff. Melrose, 1903.

testimony of the Synoptists to the effect that the idea of the Messianic sufferings and death is one that wakes no echo in the heart of any Jewish contemporary of our Lord, not excepting even His disciples.

Unless we regard the story of the Transfiguration as proof to the contrary, there is no hint in the Gospels that Jesus reached the conviction of the necessity and efficacy of His death by way of supernatural apocalypse. Yet we may be certain that, psychologically speaking, this truth came to Him not otherwise than the older truth that He was the Chosen and Beloved Son of God. His destiny to be the suffering Messiah was as much a mystery to Himself as His destiny to be the glorious Messiah of Daniel's vision. And the proof may lie for us in the fact that, here also, He uses the objective mode of speech, and speaks of the Son of Man who goes, as it is written. It was not mere thinking out of the matter that brought Him to this conclusion. His vicarious death was a Divine revelation—a thing apart in His consciousness quite as much as the voice which He alone heard at His baptism: *Thou art*

My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. To say this is not to deny His originality. It is to assert it. The only originality that belonged to Him, or that He would have claimed, was the originality of an obedient faith in God—the unique Father of the unique Son.

We may perhaps agree here that there is no originality, for any of us, worth having or using, other than an originality like—however also unlike—to that of the "Son of Man."

APPENDIXES.

APPENDIX A.

LECTURE I.

The passage, Luke 17^{20ff.}, at p. 29.—There is a question here, both of the “lower” and the “higher” criticism. 1. The question of the lower criticism concerns the meaning of the preposition, ἐντός. Does it mean *within* in the sense of Ps. 39³ (LXX, Ps. 38³: Ἐθερμάνθη ἡ καρδία μου ἐντός μου): “My heart was hot *within* me.” Or, does it mean *in the midst of*, ἐν μέσῳ,¹ with a sense akin to that in Judg. 1^{29ff.}, where, e.g., at ver. 32 the LXX read: καὶ κατώκησεν ὁ Ἀσὴρ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Χαναναιοῦ. Grammatically, both meanings are possible (see Grimm’s *Dictionary of N.T. Greek*, at word ἐντός). Hence, on both sides, interpreters support the rendering they prefer by considerations drawn from the context, or from their general views of the doctrine of Jesus. Those who adopt the rendering “within you,” favoured by both the A.V. and the R.V., are naturally influenced by the idea that it is the quality of *inwardness* that distinguishes the Kingdom, as Jesus conceived it, from that of which the Pharisees thought. On the other hand, it is contended, with some justice, that Jesus would hardly have said: “The Kingdom of God is within *you*,” to the Pharisees.

¹ Cp. Luke 22²⁷.

2. Thus, on both sides, the question is passed on to the criticism that must bear heavier responsibilities than those that run on lines of grammar. I agree, on the whole, with those who translate "among you," and it seems to me that at p. 86, n. 1, of his *Die Predigt Jesu*, J. Weiss makes a point against Dalman, who supports the rendering, "within you" (= *in cordibus vestris*), in the contention, that, in an Aramaic original, the equivalent of *ἐντός* would be, on Dalman's own showing, not *ܒܝܢܐ* (*bgo*), *in*, but *ܒܝܢܐ* (*bēnē*), *between* or *among*. On the other hand, it may well be that the ambiguity attaching to the Greek work *ἐντός* is intentional. Jesus may have hesitated to say to the *Pharisees*: "The Kingdom of God is *within you*," and yet may have wished to use an expression that might some day penetrate even them with the idea that the Kingdom was spiritual, and must be discerned from *within*. In any case, the cautious student should not too readily surrender this *logion* to interpreters, whose tendency is to make more of the apocalyptic element in the Gospels than the facts warrant.

It is significant that J. Weiss, who cannot be accused of minimising this element, yet contends that Luke 17²⁰ should be interpreted in the light of Matt. 12²⁸, and the parallel, Luke 11²⁰, the meaning of which is plain. His interpretation of *μετὰ παρατηρήσεως* in a subjective rather than an objective sense seems to me both relevant and suggestive. It gives the meaning: The Kingdom of God does not come, and will not come, in the manner expected by those, who wait for it with the eyes of the apocalyptic reckoner and visionary. Just as, at Mark 12^{35ff.} and parallels, Jesus repudiates connection with the political hopes associated with the

popular Messianic title, "Son of David," so here, with equal emphasis, He disallows the attitude of those who dealt, on whatever Scriptural authority, in apocalyptic reckonings, looking for a sign from the physical heavens, but blind to the real signs of the times. Doubtless, there was an insincere element in the question of the Pharisees. The passage should be read along with Matt. 16^{1ff.}, Mark 8^{1ff.}, Luke 12^{54ff.}.

APPENDIX B.

LECTURE II.

Affinity between the Phraseology of Jesus and that of the Jewish Apocalypses, at p. 62.—The principal examples of parallelism between the eschatological discourse in Mark 13 (= Matt. 24) and passages in Jewish apocalypses, which Haupt cites in support of his contention that we are warranted in asserting no more than that our Lord used some phrases, that were more or less current in writings of the apocalyptic class and in popular language, are as follows (*op. cit.*, p. 47^{ff.}):—

1. *Beginning of Sorrows, and Sign of the Son of Man.*—Speaking of Fourth Ezra, he remarks: "Matt. 24^{6ff.} recalls not only 4 Ezra 5⁵, *populi commovebuntur*, but also *ibid.* 9^{3ff.}: *Quando videbitur in seculo motio locorum, populorum turbatio, gentium cogitationes, ducum inconstantia, principum turbatio . . . sicut omne quod factum est in seculo initium habet, pariter et consummationem, et consummatio est manifesta, sic et Altissimi tempora: initia manifesta in prodigiis et virtutibus, et consum-*

matio in actu et in signis. Here we note, along with a number of kindred ideas, especially the difference between the ἀρχὴ ὧδίνων and the final σημεῖον of the Son of Man. The following words in Ezra 9^{7t}. make the parallel even more striking: *Et erit, omnis qui salvus factus fuerit et qui poterit effugere per opera sua vel per fidem, in qua credidit, is relinquetur de prædictis periculis et videbit salutare meum.* The words, *qui poterit effugere*, recall Luke 21³⁶, 'that ye may be accounted worthy,' etc., and the concluding words recall even more forcibly Matt. 24¹³, 'he that shall endure,' etc." And yet, Haupt goes on to remark, we cannot, so far as the Gospels are concerned, entertain the idea of literary dependence. Not only is Fourth Ezra later than Mark, its date being about 90 A.D. (so Gunkel in Kautzsch's *Pseudepigraphen*, vol. ii. p. 352); but in the fact that we find the same thought of the remnant, who escape all the prophesied dangers and see the salvation of the Lord, expressed with considerable similarity of phrase in Ezra 6²⁵, we may see a proof that both the idea and the phrase were widely circulated in the apocalypticist's time. Matt. 24^{6t}. may, further, be compared with Baruch 70⁸. I quote from Charles's edition, *Apocalypse of Baruch* (A. & C. Black, 1896): "And it will come to pass that whosoever gets safe out of the war will die in the earthquake, and whosoever gets safe out of the earthquake will be burned by the fire, and whosoever gets safe out of the fire will be destroyed by famine." Here the preliminary woes, except the *fire*, are the same with those mentioned in Matthew. The date of Baruch, according to Kautzsch (*op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 407), is after 70 and not later than 96 A.D.

2. *Betrayal and Hatred among Friends*, Matt. 24¹⁰

compared with 4 Ezra 6²⁴ and 5⁹: *Erit in illo tempore debellabunt amici amicos ut inimici. Amici omnes semet ipsos expugnabunt.* Compare also Baruch 70³: "They will hate one another, and provoke one another to fight."

3. *Abounding Iniquity*, Matt. 24¹² compared with 4 Ezra 5²: *Multiplicabitur iniustitia super hanc quam tu vides et super quam audisti.* Also, *ibid.* 5¹⁰: *Multiplicabitur iniustitia et incontinentia super terram.* And *ibid.* 7⁴¹: *Quando iniustitia multiplicata est.* Compare also, in Charles's translation, Enoch 91⁷: "And then when unrighteousness . . . in all kinds will increase, a great chastisement from heaven will come upon them all." Charles fixes the date of this section of Enoch at 166–161 B.C. This would move it back more than two centuries from the time of 4 Ezra, and goes to confirm Haupt's contention that the idea and the phrase might be in the minds and on the lips of Jesus and His disciples, quite apart from any knowledge of a written extra-canonical apocalypse.

4. *The Shortening of the Time of Affliction*, Matt. 24²². —The *Epistle of Barnabas*, a Christian document, which Lightfoot is disposed to date at 70–79 A.D. (Lightfoot–Harmer, *The Apostolic Fathers*, p. 241), refers at 4³ to Enoch: "The last offence is at hand, concerning which the Scripture speaketh, as Enoch saith. For to this end, the Master (δεσπότης) hath cut the seasons and the days short (συντέτμηκεν τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας), that His beloved might hasten and come to His inheritance" (Lightfoot's translation). Words closely like any of the above occur, so far as I am aware, nowhere in any known MS. of Enoch; but, according to Charles (*The Book of Enoch*, p. 38) the passage here referred to is

Enoch 89^{56ff.} The section of Enoch, in which this passage occurs, he dates at only a few years later than Daniel. There is the same representation of heathen oppressors under the symbol of wild beasts. They tear in pieces the sheep, *i.e.*, the Jews, who for their sins are delivered to lions and tigers (Assyrians and Chaldees?), etc., by the seventy "shepherds" or angels (so most interpreters) to whom they are entrusted. The writer wishes to convey that Jehovah will punish the "shepherds" who have gone beyond His commands as to the number of sheep they have allowed to be destroyed. At ver. 60, after Enoch has wept and entreated for the sheep, Jehovah says to the shepherds, "I will deliver them over unto you duly numbered, and will tell you which of them are to be destroyed,—and these destroy ye." The shepherds destroyed many more than were prescribed. But a scribe was set to watch them, and Enoch saw till the scribe's record was laid before the Lord of the sheep, and the seventy shepherds were seized and found guilty, and a new house was miraculously provided for all the sheep that were left, and "all the beasts of the earth and the birds of heaven did homage to them" (Enoch 90²⁵ and 30).

Enoch, on the whole, is a book which no average man will read through gladly even once, and, as I have referred once or twice to my handbook, *The Times of Christ* (T. & T. Clark), I may take here the opportunity of saying that I am not so sure now as I was in 1896 that this apocalyptic book had any interest for Jesus, or that it was even known to Him. Yet, anyone who wishes to study the mere *technique* of Jewish apocalypse will probably be helped rather than hindered by the exceeding tameness of the imagery, to

find most that he wants in such a book as Enoch, chaps. 83-90.

To the head of the *Shortened Time* belongs the passage in Baruch 20¹¹, where the words run: "Behold, the days will come, and the times will hasten more than the former, and the seasons will speed on more than those that are past, and the years will pass more quickly than the present. Therefore have I now taken away Zion, that I may the more speedily visit the world in its season" (Charles's translation).

5. *False Prophets and Deceptive Signs and Wonders*, Matt. 24²¹ compared with Baruch 48²²: "And there will be many rumours and tidings not a few, and the works of portents will be shown, and promises not a few will be recounted, and some of them will prove idle, and some of them will be confirmed" (Charles's translation).

In regard to all these resemblances of idea and phrase between the Gospels and Jewish apocalypses, and in regard to others which he cites further on, Haupt admits that we cannot speak of mere coincidence; but the effort to build upon them the conclusion, that our Lord's conception of the consummated kingdom was confined within the framework of the average pious expectation of His time, he characterises as a twofold error: (1) that of failing to recognise the independent attitude adopted by Jesus to the religious tradition of His fellow-countrymen; and (2) that of overlooking the pervasively pictorial character of our Lord's mode of speech (*op. cit.*, p. 49).

I have written the Lectures under the conviction that Haupt's position, as so stated, is sound, though, as regards the theory of the *Little Apocalypse*, touched in Lecture I., I am not prepared to go beyond the Scottish

verdict of "Not proven." A verdict the one way or the other, in the latter matter, does not touch our estimate of Him who is the Truth; it touches only our judgment regarding the literary method and spiritual perception of the Evangelists. They were surely men of their time, in a sense or degree not predicable of Jesus.

APPENDIX C.

LECTURE IV.

I. "*Son of Man*" in the *Synoptic Gospels*, "On about forty different occasions, etc.," p. 145. The following *conspectus* of the passages will be useful to the student. I have marked with the letters *ap.* the passages that are clearly of the *apocalyptic* class, referring, *i.e.*, to the final glory of the Messiah.

MATTHEW.

8 ²⁰ . Son of man lay his head.	19 ²⁸ . In the regeneration, when, <i>ap.</i>
9 ⁶ . Power to forgive.	20 ¹⁸ . We go up to Jerusalem.
10 ²³ . Gone over cities until, <i>ap.</i>	20 ²⁸ . Not to be ministered unto.
11 ¹⁹ . Eating and drinking.	24 ²⁷ . As the lightning, so, <i>ap.</i>
12 ⁸ . Lord of the Sabbath.	24 ³⁰ . Then! shall appear the sign, <i>ap.</i> ;
12 ³² . A word against.	twice.
12 ⁴⁰ . Jonah three days.	24 ^{37 and 39} . Noah, so shall also coming,
13 ³⁷ . He that soweth the good.	<i>ap.</i> ; twice.
13 ⁴¹ . Angels to gather tares.	24 ⁴⁴ . Think not cometh, <i>ap.</i>
16 ¹³ . Who do men say.	25 ¹³ . Watch, for know neither day, <i>ap.</i>
16 ²⁷ . Come in glory of Father, <i>ap.</i>	25 ³¹ . When Son of man shall come,
16 ²⁸ . Some not taste death, <i>ap.</i>	<i>ap.</i>
17 ⁹ . Tell vision to no man, <i>ap.</i>	26 ² . After two days the Feast.
17 ¹² . Suffer like Elias (John the Baptist).	26 ²⁴ . Goeth, as it is written; twice.
17 ²² . Betrayed into hands of men.	26 ⁴⁵ . Sleep on now.
18 ¹¹ . Come to save lost.	26 ⁶⁴ . Hereafter shall ye see, <i>ap.</i>

Analysis of Matthew: Thirty-two occurrences on twenty-nine occasions. Of the thirty-two, fourteen are apocalyptic; of the fourteen, eight are in chaps. 24 and 25. It is perhaps doubtful whether 17⁹ and the parallel Mark 9⁹ should be considered apocalyptic.

MARK.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 2 ¹⁰ . Power to forgive. | 10 ³³ . We go up to Jerusalem. |
| 2 ²⁸ . Lord of the Sabbath. | 10 ⁴⁵ . Not to be ministered unto. |
| 8 ³¹ . Began to teach—Cæs. Phil. | 13 ²⁶ . Then shall they see, <i>ap</i> . |
| 8 ³⁸ . Son of man be ashamed, <i>ap</i> . | 14 ²¹ . Goeth, as it is written; twice. |
| 9 ⁹ . Tell no man till, <i>ap</i> . | 14 ⁴¹ . Sleep on now. |
| 9 ¹² . Written of, that must suffer. | 14 ⁶² . Before Caiaphas, <i>ap</i> . |
| 9 ³¹ . He taught His disciples and said. | |

Analysis of Mark: Fourteen occurrences on thirteen occasions: all but three of the fourteen, namely 8³¹, 8³⁸, 9³¹, clearly represented in Matt. 8³¹ and 8³⁸, are, however, represented by Luke 9²² and 26⁶.

LUKE.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 5 ²⁴ . Power to forgive. | 17 ²² . Days of the Son of man, <i>ap</i> . |
| 6 ⁵ . Lord of the Sabbath. | 17 ²⁴ . Lightning, <i>ap</i> . |
| 7 ³³ . Eating and drinking. | 17 ³⁴ . Even thus in the day, <i>ap</i> . |
| 9 ²² . Son of man must suffer. | 18 ⁸ . Find faith in the earth, <i>ap</i> . |
| 9 ²⁶ . Son of man be ashamed, <i>ap</i> . | 18 ³¹ . We go up to Jerusalem. |
| 9 ⁴⁴ . Let these sayings sink. | 19 ¹⁰ . To seek and save. |
| [9 ⁵⁶ . Not to destroy—Westcott and Hort and R. V. reject.] | 21 ²⁷ . Then shall they see, <i>ap</i> . |
| 9 ⁵³ . Foxes have holes. | 21 ³⁶ . Stand before the Son of man, <i>ap</i> . |
| 11 ³⁰ . Sign of Jonah. | 22 ²² . Goeth as determined. |
| 12 ⁸ . Son of man confess, <i>ap</i> . | 22 ⁴⁸ . Betrayest thou with a kiss. |
| 12 ¹⁰ . Word against. | 22 ⁶⁹ . Before Sanhedrin, <i>ap</i> . |
| | 24 ⁷ . Reminder at the tomb. |

Analysis of Luke: Twenty-two occurrences on as many occasions: nine of the twenty-two apocalyptic.

Final Analysis, Matthew, Mark, and Luke: Subtracting three from Matthew's thirty-two, namely, the repetitions in 24³⁰ and 39 and 26²⁴, reckoning Mark 9³¹ peculiar to Mark, and Luke 9⁴⁴, 12⁸, 17²², 18⁸, 19¹⁰, 21³⁶, 22⁴⁸, 24⁷ peculiar to Luke, and adding to these Luke 9²² and 26⁶ as representing Mark 8³¹ and 38, we obtain exactly the number forty, mentioned in the beginning of Lecture IV.

APPENDIX C.

LECTURE IV.—*continued*.

II.—*Lietzmann and the word Gabhrā'* (under No. 2 of the propositions *contra* the Lietzmann-Wellhausen position), p. 154.—The statement under this head in

Lecture IV. is hardly detailed enough to seem relevant. I have no expert knowledge of Aramaic, or its various dialects, whether considered geographically (Lietzmann), or historically (Dalman); but I have been at pains to study the *dicta* of the authorities, so far as they relate to the matter under discussion. Relying on information, supplied largely by themselves, I maintain with confidence that Wellhausen and Lietzmann have, of course without intention, misled the discussion regarding "Son of Man" in the Gospels. Lietzmann has done so, especially in two ways:—

1. He has gone beyond the warrant of the facts in speaking as if *barnāshā'* and *gabhrā'* were absolutely synonymous expressions. No doubt, as they both mean, in general, *man*, they are used naturally and frequently as synonymous; but it does not follow that *barnāshā'* might have been used in every case, where we find *gabhrā'*. Thus in the *Ev. Hieros.*, at Matt. 19^{5 and 10}, *gabhrā'* is used in the sense of *husband*. Lietzmann will hardly maintain that it would have been natural in later Aramaic to say *barnāshā'* for *man* as distinct from *woman*. If he said so, he would surely give away almost entirely his case against "Son of Man" in the Gospels, which depends mainly on the *indefiniteness* of the expression *barnāshā'*. On the other side, it is by no means clear that *gabhrā'* ever lent itself to the same degree of indefiniteness of meaning, that was possible (witness the Talmudic usage) in the case of *barnāshā'*. For instance, in a sentence beginning, "If *anyone*—", a Talmudic writer, unless he were actually commenting on a canonical Hebrew text, and, out of conventional reverence, using Hebrew, would express *anyone* by *barnāsh*, or even

barnāshā'; but it would be, I venture to think, as unnatural for him to use *gabhrā'* as it would be for a Hebrew writer to use *gebher* instead of *'ādhām*. For an example of this kind of sentence, see in Dalman (*op. cit.*, p. 202, Germ. ed.) the famous instance of the Talmudic commentator on Num. 23¹⁹, who quotes R. Abbahu, a Jew of Cæsarea, *circa* 280 A.D., as saying (evidently in controversy with the Christians): "If anyone says, 'I am God,' he lies; 'I am the Son of Man,' he will finally regret it; 'I am going up to heaven,' he has said it, but will not carry it out." The commentator uses Hebrew, and says, *'ādhām* for *anyone*, and *ben 'ādhām* for the *Son of Man*. If Dalman's view of the passage is correct, the latter expression contains a clear reference to the Christian use of "Son of Man" as a title denoting the divinity of Jesus.¹

¹ Schmidt proposes to excise the words meaning *he will finally regret it*, and to read after *he lies*: "I am a son of man (*i.e.*, a man), and I am going up to heaven." This, certainly, suits the fact that R. Abbahu has made no attempt to paraphrase the titular "Son of Man" of the Greek Gospels. If he had intended a title, would he not have attempted some Hebrew equivalent of the Aramaic-Christian *terminus technicus*, *breh dhe gabhrā'* or *breh dhe bharnāshā'*? Even on Schmidt's view, the reference to Jesus in this interesting Talmudic passage as the person who says he is *ben 'ādhām* and is *going up to heaven*, is, as Schmidt admits, indubitable (*Encyc. Bibl.*, vol. iv. p. 4706). Schmidt supposes that R. Abbahu wishes to point satirically to the contrast between Jesus' confession that He was only a *ben 'ādhām*, and the enormous claim in John 14⁴ and Acts 1⁹. I observe that the late revered Professor Franz Delitzsch, who died before the philological discussion regarding "Son of Man" arose, has, in his Hebrew Version of the New Testament (Ackermann & Glaser, Leipzig, 1880), rendered "Son of Man" in the Gospels uniformly by *ben ha 'ādhām*. If, as I believe to be the case, this expression (*i.e.*, the definite article with the singular, *'ādhām*, after *ben*) occurs nowhere in the O.T., it may be considered sufficiently peculiar to serve the purpose of a Hebrew-Christian equivalent for the Aramaic-Christian *terminus technicus*, *breh dhe gabhrā'*.

2. Lietzmann has gone beyond the facts in the emphasis he has laid on the *indefiniteness* of *barnāshā'*. No doubt, as proved by the Syriac Versions of the Gospels (Cureton and Peshito) and by the Talmudic usage, *barnāshā'* may be indefinite enough; but it may also be fairly *definite*, if not *emphatic*. I have no access to the *Ev. Hieros.*, but I owe the reader of p. 154, n. 1, of this book an apology for not having learnt sooner from the exasperating small print of the *Encyc. Bibl.* (vol. iv. p. 4707) that *barnāshā'* is used as the synonym of *gabhrā'* in the instance noted. For, while at Matt. 26⁷² the *Ev. Hieros.* uses *gabhrā'*, where Peter says, "I know not *the man*," at ver. 74, where the same words occur, *barnāshā'* is used.

Furthermore, the *Ev. Hieros.* is singularly exact in distinguishing between *barnāsh* and the emphatic *barnāshā'*. Thus, in numerous passages, the former is used exclusively as the rendering of *ἄνθρωπος* (e.g., Matt. 8⁹, 19⁶, Mark 8³⁶), and *barnāshā'* as exclusively for *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*. There seems even, according to Prof. Schmidt, to be a distinction in this document between *barnāsh* and the simple *'ēnāsh*, as in a series of passages, where both occur, the latter is used exclusively in the sense of *anyone*.

Again: Prof. Schmidt points out the inaccuracy of Lietzmann's statement that at Luke 5²⁰ the *Ev. Hieros.* renders *ἄνθρωπος τις* by *ܒܪܢܫܐ ܗܪ* (*barnāshā' hadh*). What is so rendered is not *ἄνθρωπος τις*, but the vocative, *ἄνθρωπε*, which, quite according to correct usage, is rendered in Aramaic by the emphatic. But, at Luke 15¹¹ (5 for 15 is a misprint of the *Encyc. Bibl.*), *ἄνθρωπος τις* is rendered by *ܒܪܢܫ ܗܪ* (*barnāsh hadh*).

As regards the titular use of "Son of Man" in our Greek Gospels, it does not in the least affect the view, which, following mainly Fiebig, I have taken in Lecture IV., to point out, that, so far as is known, none of the Aramaic translations of the Gospels rendered $\acute{o} \nu\acute{i}\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ by the simple *barnāshā*'. In the *Ev. Hieros.* the equivalent used is chiefly בְּרֵה דְ גַבְרָא (*breh dhē gabhrā*), lit., "his son that of the man"; but sometimes the extraordinary form, $\text{בְּרֵה דְ גַבְרָא שָׂא}$ (*breh dhē bharnāshā*), lit., "his son that of the son of man," appears. In the view, advocated in Lecture IV., it is allowed that the titular "Son of Man" of our Gospels is true only of the *mind* of Jesus, who, when He used the third person in speaking of Himself, always thought of the glorious Figure in Dan. 7¹³. It could not, in the nature of the case, and in the immediate intention of Jesus, express the average understanding, or rather want of understanding, of His words, on the part either of the multitude or the disciples. Yet the titular rendering in the Gospels *is* true to the main fact of the Gospel history, namely, Jesus' consciousness of Himself, as the Man of prophecy, the Head of the Final Kingdom, to whom, on His own behalf and that of His brethren, all power was given. Once this truth was attained, it was felt, by Aramaic-speaking as well as other Christians, that it ought to be preserved by some such *terminus technicus* as the $\acute{o} \nu\acute{i}\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ of the Greek Gospels. Naturally, there was some difficulty in finding a good equivalent. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the expression "Son of Man," used as a title and applied to one individual, is an unnatural expression in every language under

the sun. But, perhaps all the more on this account, it has been felt by Christians that this unique phrase corresponds to the unique fact of Jesus. *Breh dhē gabhrā'* is a literal translation, in the Aramaic of the second century, of *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. If some preferred the extraordinary form *breh dhē bharnāshā'*, the reason may have been, partly, the desire to avoid seeming to imply that Jesus was the son of some particular man (so Schmidt), and, partly, the desire to preserve a literary contact with the *bar 'ēnāsh* of Dan. 7¹³. I make Lietzmann welcome to the assumption that, even in the time of Jesus, the simple expression, *barnāshā'*, could not have been understood as a title, and I do not share the anxiety of Driver to prove that *breh dhē 'nāshā'* is at least a grammatical possibility and may have been used by Jesus. My thesis is: that Jesus used the indefinite expression, but that, inevitably and in due time, He stamped it with the definiteness of Himself.

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